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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

The Amsterdam Message

Adopted by the World Council of Churches

Why Are the Dixiecrats?

By Eugene Peacock

Religion in the Universities

By Bernard Iddings Bell

Why South America Growls

By Carleton Beals

Watch Paris, Not Berlin!

An Editorial

15 Cents a Copy • September 22, 1948 • Six Dollars a Year

In This Issue

Carleton Beals
has been writing on Latin American matters for the world press ever since, in 1919, he became principal of the American school in Mexico City. He has not confined his study to the countries south of the Rio Grande, having ranged the world as a newspaper and magazine correspondent, but it is as an observer of Hispano-American affairs that he has won his international standing. It would be impossible to list Mr. Beals' books in the space here available; *Who's Who* fills 18 lines with the titles of books of which he is the sole author and 8 more lines with titles of books on which he has collaborated.

Bernard Iddings Bell
after a long and varied career as an educator and priest of the Episcopal Church, is now consultant on educational matters to the Episcopal Bishop of Chicago. Dr. Bell is the author of many widely discussed books and of innumerable magazine articles.

Eugene Peacock
is minister of the St. Francis Street Methodist Church, Mobile, Ala. A native of Alabama, and a graduate of Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss., and the Candler School of Theology, Mr. Peacock has served pastorates in Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia and Alabama.

Gerald Heard
first won attention as a university lecturer and B.B.C. commentator on scientific developments in England during the twenties. His *Ascent of Humanity* and *Emergence of Man* will be remembered. In 1937, with his friend Aldous Huxley, he came to this country and like Huxley has settled in California.

Karl J. Arndt
is chief of the religious affairs branch of the U.S. military government in Wuerttemberg-Baden, Germany.

W. E. Mann
an Anglican clergyman, associate secretary of the Christian Social Council of Canada, writes his first newsletter as our new correspondent in Toronto.

The Christian Century

Established 1884, as *The Christian Oracle.*
Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
Refounded 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison and developed as an undenominational journal of religion.

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September 22, 1948

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Published weekly by Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

$6.00 a year. Canadian postage 50 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.50 extra.

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries.

Contents

Editorial

Editorial Paragraphs 963
The Amsterdam Message 966
Watch Paris, Not Berlin! 967

Contributed Articles

Why South America Growls, by Carleton Beals 970
Studying Religion in the Universities, by Bernard Iddings Bell 973
Why Are the Dixiecrats? by Eugene Peacock 975

Books

Mysticism in Religion, by William Ralph Inge 977
Books in Brief 977

Correspondence 978

News of the Christian World

Amsterdam Assembly 980
Bad Boll Conferences 980
San Francisco 982
Czechoslovakia 984
Oklahoma City 986
West Virginia-Kentucky 987
Toronto 988

Current Feature Films 990

Calendar of Coming Events

Sept. 19-Oct. 1. New York State Council of Churches Annual Area Conventions: Binghamton (19-20); Delhi (20-21); Troy (21-22); Kingston (22-23); Poughkeepsie (23-24); East Aurora (26-27); Wellsville (27-28); Penn Yan (28-29); Newark (29-30); Albion (30-1).
Sept. 20-24. National Lutheran Council Semi-annual Staff Meetings, Chicago.
Sept. 21-28. United Church of Canada General Council, Vancouver, B. C.
Sept. 25-30. Disciples of Christ International Convention, San Francisco.
Oct. 3. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Daniel A. Poling, speaker.
Oct. 3. World Communion Sunday.
Oct. 4, 11, 18, 25; Nov. 1, 6. Chicagoland School of Religion.
Oct. 5-7. Universalist Church of America Conference on "The Faith of Universalism," Pocono Pines, Pa.
Oct. 6-14. United Lutheran Church 16th Biennial Convention, Philadelphia.
Oct. 7-14. American Lutheran Church 10th Biennial Convention, Fremont, Ohio.
Oct. 11-15. Conferences on Church Architecture in Cooperation with State and City Councils of Churches: First Congregational Church, Berkeley, Calif. (11); First Methodist Church, Sacramento, Calif. (12); Fresno, Calif. (13); First Congregational Church, Los Angeles (15).
Oct. 13-15. National Sunday School Association Third Annual Convention, Denver.
Oct. 15-17. Conference on the Church and Economic Life, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn.
Oct. 17. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; John A. Mackay, speaker.
Oct. 17. Laymen's Sunday (sponsored by Laymen's Movement for a Christian World).
Oct. 21-22. American Mission to Lepers National Convention, Moody Memorial Church, Chicago.
Oct. 24. United Nations Day.
Oct. 24-31. National Conference of Christians and Jews Sixth Annual Religious Book Week.
Oct. 31. Reformation Sunday.
Nov. 2-4. Northern California-Western Nevada Council of Churches First Convocation for Ministers and Laymen, Oakland.
Nov. 5. World Community Day.
Nov. 5-7. Philadelphia General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.
Nov. 7-13. Religious Education Week.
Nov. 9-11. Fifth Annual National Convocation on the Church in Town and Country, San Jose, Calif.
Nov. 15-18. United Council of Church Women Fourth National Biennial Assembly, Milwaukee, Wis.
Nov. 19-21. United Stewardship Council Annual Meeting, Kansas City.
Nov. 25. Thanksgiving.
Nov. 25-Dec. 25. American Bible Society Fifth Annual Worldwide Bible Reading; Theme: "The Book of All Nations."
Nov. 28. First Sunday in Advent.
Dec. 1-2. Church Pensions Conference, New York City.
Dec. 2-4. Seventh Annual Rural Life Conference of the Historic Peace Churches, Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.
Dec. 12. Universal Bible Sunday.
Dec. 27-Jan. 1. United Student Christian Council First Ecumenical Student Conference, Lawrence, Kan.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LXV CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 22, 1948 NUMBER 38

EDITORIAL

MARCELLE POIRIER, a correspondent of Religious News Service, has written a description of the reconstruction of the Rouen cathedral which is one of the most moving accounts of Europe's efforts to recover from the war that have reached this country. While Rouen was still being blasted by bombers—our bombers—a devoted master carpenter and master stonecutter gathered their workmen to save what they could of the cathedral. As fast as pillars were struck, they were shored up. As fast as stone fragments fell to the floor, they were numbered and stored. Rebuilding began from the moment the bombing ceased. Old plans were unearthed in order to be sure the intent of the original builders should be observed. The quarry from which the original stone had been taken in the 13th century was reopened, to be sure that replacements matched the ancient walls. Even the tools of the medieval craftsmen were copied, and today's workers have mastered their use, in order that the cut of the new stone, the grain of the carving, may be exactly like that of the old. It will be thirty years before the work of restoration is finished, but what a tribute the very attempt, made in this way, is to man's faith! For who can say how long it will be before the bombers are again over Rouen cathedral?

Rebuilding Rouen Cathedral

Mr. Dulles Tastes the Pleasures of Politics

POOR Mr. Dulles! He must be wondering these days what malign influence ever induced him to place his encyclopedic knowledge of international affairs at the service of the nation or to allow the impression to get around that, in the event of a Republican victory, he might be prevailed on to become secretary of state. Not long ago we spoke of the manner in which the Henry Wallace convention at Philadelphia used Mr. Dulles as a whipping boy, excoriating him as a "tool of Wall Street" and an agent of the "international bankers." All any of the Wallaceite speakers needed to do to draw a roar of boos was to speak the words, "John Foster Dulles." (See The Christian Century for August 25.) Now it is reported that Mr. Dulles, as chairman of the board of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, had something to do with the election of Alger Hiss as president of that foundation. In the light of charges made against Mr. Hiss in recent Washington hearings, the *Chicago Tribune* holds that this proves Mr. Dulles was either a dupe of the Communist underground in Washington or an outright tool, and in either case is unfit to be head of the state department. "Mr. Dulles," it says, "has become a moral and political liability to Mr. Dewey. Mr. Dewey ought to break with Dulles, now and forever." So Mr. Dulles gets blasted for being too tough toward Moscow, and then gets blasted for being too friendly. And yet there are some who wonder why high-caliber men so often steer away from politics!

Charles A. Beard and the Writing of History

WE TRUST that the wraith of Charles A. Beard will not take offense if we say that reading the obituaries of the late historian has been one of the most amusing experiences we have had recently. Amusing, and enlightening. Dr. Beard was too important to be allowed to leave the scene without considerable notice. All the papers had to acknowledge that he was the dean of American historians; the calendar took care of that. Most of them, albeit in some cases grudgingly, admitted that he was the most eminent. Likewise, they recognized the influence he had exerted on other historians and on historical judgments generally. Some of them went so far as to admit that Beard positions originally blasted as historical heresy—as in the case of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*—subsequently became orthodox. Try as they would, however, most of the obituary writers could not bring themselves to admit that the same reversal of opinion might be in store for Dr. Beard's last book, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941*. They could not ignore the book, but

they could not stomach it. "He Wrote One Book Too Many," Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman plaintively headed his tribute in the *Richmond News Leader*. Who, at this stage, can be sure? We haven't read Dr. Beard's final book, but we understand it argues that President Roosevelt deliberately took the United States into the war, for reasons not conducive to his lasting fame. If so, it probably reveals the historian's anti-Roosevelt bias; Beard always insisted that all history is written with bias. Another thing all historians have is blind spots. Beard had one when it came to religion, and we think he would have admitted it. Bias and blind spots, however, will not keep a resolute historian from turning up a lot of truth. Napoleon, like Henry Ford and a good many men of action, scorned history. "History," he said, "is a fable agreed upon." Too much historical writing is just that. That's why the great historians, from Gibbon on, have been revisionists. Charles A. Beard, whatever his shortcomings, was in that line.

Catholics Debate Church Music

OUR READERS will remember the rumpus in our correspondence department when Dr. Richard T. Gore, of the College of Wooster, suggested that much of the music in Protestant services borders on the blasphemous. (June 11, 1947, *et passim.*) It may comfort the purists in Protestant ranks to be told that their Roman Catholic brethren have as much trouble over the same questions, and debate them with equal heat. Thus the National Catholic Music Educators Association, which held its convention in Rensselaer, Indiana, early this month, came out boldly for the elimination of all operatic music from wedding services—good-bye Lohengrin and the Midsummer Night's Dream march, to the relief of others besides Catholics!—and voted to "banish forever" the Bach-Gounod, Schubert and Rosewig "Ave Marias." "Only approved liturgical music" will be tolerated hereafter, and no women in the choir! To which one finds it hard to refrain from appending a Protestant "Oh yeah?" Of course the Catholic choirmasters are on solid ground, musically as well as liturgically, and are following exactly the line laid down by the late Piux X. But they are up against that recalcitrant old devil named, "What the public wants." And don't the parish priests know it!

Arab D.P.'s Require Immediate Help

DESPITE the appeals which Count Bernadotte began to make early in August, the world is only now beginning to appreciate what has happened to the non-combatant Arabs in Palestine. More than 300,000 of them—some estimates put the number as high as half a million—have been driven from their homes. In most cases, they have been stripped of their possessions, and today they have nothing but the miserable clothes they stand in. So far, they have been given neither decent food nor shelter. In comparison with their misery, the D.P.'s in Europe are living in luxury. As this tragic situation begins to register, church and government bodies are moving into action. Church World Service has sent a little money and twenty tons of clothing and vitamins, and is appealing to the American Protestant churches for more help. The pope has told Cardinal Spellman to send $50,000 from American Catholic relief funds and is calling on Catholic relief agencies in all countries to make special offerings. The British government has donated $400,000 worth of tents and medical supplies, and 13 other members of the United Nations have promised aid. All this offers reason to hope that these Arab D.P.'s will not be left, half-starving, at the mercy of the elements as winter descends on Palestine. But of course their just rights will not be assured until they are able to return to their homes and live there in security. When will that be? A statement just received from the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, Inc., says: "To ask the Israelis to admit them [the Arab D.P.'s] now is an impertinence to which even those who propose it can hardly expect Israel to submit. We do not intend to discuss that absurd proposal." The same document argues that the flight of the Arabs from their homes has proved "that the Arab does not feel that Palestine is his national home as the Jew feels that it is"!

Holland Has a New Queen

SOME of the American delegates at Amsterdam grew a bit restive over signs of churchly delight at every chance to bask in the sunshine of royal favor. However, with the church assembly meeting while the Dutch nation was turning itself inside out to show its affection for Queen Wilhelmina and its good wishes for her daughter, it was only natural that the representatives of the churches, no matter how republican their background, should assimilate some of the glow of warmth for monarchy that filled the atmosphere. We wonder, in thinking about this matter, how many of the Amsterdam delegates gave much thought to the religious problem which Queen Juliana has inherited. Holland is usually regarded as one of the bulwarks of European Protestantism. The Dutch monarchy is Protestant by law, and the state church is Protestant. Until late in the 19th century, Catholics were barred from office. Today, however, the Catholic party is the largest in Parliament, there is a Catholic prime minister, and the population has shifted, since the turn of the century, from a proportion of 60 per cent Protestant to 35 per cent Catholic to a proportion of 42 per cent Protestant and 42 per cent Catholic. Within the next ten years the Dutch population, unless there comes a sudden change in the size of Protestant families, will become preponderantly Catholic. Yet this is by no means the whole story. Even more significance probably attaches to the rapid growth of the "no religion" portion of the population, which the last census set at 14 per cent. Since both Protestant and Catholic churches stand for extremely conservative social and political policies—on Indonesia the Catholics are even more reactionary than the Protestants—all liberalism, such as marks the younger generation, is being

forced into the socialist ranks. And socialism, as so often elsewhere in Europe, tends to be atheistic or agnostic. There's a lot of hand-wringing these days over the threat of secularism; the Amsterdam Assembly indulged in some of it. Holland offers an instance, and shows why the churches are often to blame.

Mobs on the Loose as Campaign Opens

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S Labor Day speeches marked the formal opening of the campaign. They indicated that he hopes to win labor votes by threatening something worse than the Taft-Hartley law and housewives' votes by threatening something worse than present prices unless the Democrats win. Governor Dewey at the same time forecast a red-hunting campaign by promising, if elected, to clean the Communists out of Washington. Both appeals are shoddy, no matter how many votes they may gain. Mr. Truman knows that there was a Democratic majority in Congress for the Taft-Hartley law and against his anti-inflation proposals. And Mr. Dewey knows that, however many Communists there may have been in Washington during the days when Russia was our noble ally, they are few and far between now, and lying very low. The next president faces more serious business. The real significance of the campaign so far is, we believe, wrapped up in the mob assaults on candidates. These are increasing. Mr. Wallace was the first victim. Before he had returned to New York from his egg-splattered southern tour, the Wallaceite candidate for the Senate in Illinois, Prof. Curtis MacDougall of Northwestern University, had been stoned by mobs in downstate towns. Two or three days later, the Republican candidates for governor and the Senate in Tennessee were mobbed. It's all bad business. And it is bad not only because of its denial of free speech but because it reveals the inner sense of insecurity, the mental and spiritual jitters, today afflicting large numbers of Americans. Eggs, tomatoes, grapefruit, stones—all these are evidence of a spreading loss of confidence in American institutions and traditions.

Gallup Poll Locates Wallace Strength

ELMO ROPER is not going to issue further predictions on the campaign unless something completely upsets the present outlook. Mr. Roper says that his polls show Governor Dewey so far in front that there would be no interest in repeating the indications of his overwhelming lead week after week. It is possible that the various public opinion polls are as much a waste of time in this campaign as Mr. Roper suggests. Nevertheless, their reports on local aspects of the contest may not be without interest. For example, the Gallup poll's prediction on the way the New York city vote is going tells any person who will study it a lot about America. In New York city, Dr. Gallup reports, 36 per cent of the voters who have made up their minds will vote for Truman, 27 per cent for Dewey, and 23 per cent for Wallace. Or, to quote the Gallup results again, "an estimated one-third of all the votes Wallace will get in the entire nation in November will come from New York city alone." If the Gallup prediction turns out to be correct, it will go a long way toward explaining why other nations—including Russia—which get so much of their interpretative material from New York, acquire such distorted ideas of American opinion. It will also show why New York is so unrepresentative an environment in which to attempt to conduct national movements.

Talmadge, the Longs and Edith Mae Irby

MR. PEACOCK'S reminder that not all the Greeks voted for Socrates' execution and that not all southerners are Dixiecrats (see page 975) is one to keep in mind, though it might be argued that the triumph of the ideas of the Greeks who condemned the philosopher had a good deal to do with what ultimately happened to Greece. But it is impossible not to wonder where the south—and the nation—is coming out when a Herman Talmadge shows how ridiculously easy it is, by raising the white supremacy banner and calling forth the Ku Klux, to sweep a state like Georgia, and the Long dynasty moves back into control of Louisiana. Elections of this sort sound pretty discouraging for the future of democracy, and they *are* discouraging. Yet there is that other side, as our southern friends insist. While Talmadge and the Longs were soaring to glory at the polls, the medical school of the University of Arkansas was announcing that it will admit Miss Edith Mae Irby, colored. "She will be," said the dean, "a part of her class, just like any other member." It is possible that in the long run the forces that brought about this decision in Arkansas may prove more powerful, and therefore more important, than the forces which brought the decisions in Georgia and Louisiana. But that will be in a very long run. And how much time has democracy to make good?

The Wrong Way To Do It

HENRY WALLACE'S name will not appear on the ballot in Illinois in November. Neither, it is safe to predict, will the Progressive candidates for national offices get on the ballot or voting machines in a number of other states where their supporters have tried to comply with the law's requirements. Candidates of the States' Rights party—the Dixiecrats—are also finding it hard to get their names on the ballot in a number of states. There is little reason to suspect political chicanery behind the legal interpretations which have kept these candidates of new parties from their fair chance at the polls. The trouble is with the laws. In state after state, the ruling parties have enacted laws with provisions concerning nominating petitions which make it all but impossible for new parties to land on the ballot. Without protection of this kind, the old parties argue, all sorts of nuts and splinter groups would be putting

up candidates, and the ballot would become an unmanageable crazy-quilt of enormous cost. There is something to this argument, but not much. There is an easy way to guard against excessive costs and excessive nuts, and that's by means of the candidates' forfeit. Britain uses this method, with entire satisfaction. Any number of party candidates may run—or rather, in England, stand—but those who fail to receive a certain percentage of the total vote (we think it is 10 per cent) forfeit their sizable deposit. American states should adopt the same system. Let anybody run who wants to, provided he thinks at least a tenth of the electorate also wants him to, and is ready to certify his faith by his deposit. But end this rigging of the registration laws so that the old parties are immune from new challenges.

Catholic Bishop Arraigns South Africa's Race Policies

WHITE SUPREMACY is riding high in the Union of South Africa these days—as high as in Georgia. But the extreme segregation policy of the new government is not going unchallenged. Recently, for example, the Roman Catholic bishop of Capetown, Dr. Francis Hennemann, issued a pastoral letter, which was read in all the churches in his diocese, calling the government's policy "noxious, un-Christian and destructive." According to Religious News Service, Bishop Hennemann told South Africa's Catholics: "To make matters worse all this is being done in the name of Christian civilization. Christian civilization, we are asked to believe, is the same thing as white civilization. The truth is that there is no such thing as a white civilization. If it is white exclusively, it is not Christian, and if it is Christian it is not white." Here again one may discern the long view of the Roman Church. This Catholic bishop knew perfectly well how unpopular such a declaration would make him, and his church, in South Africa today and perhaps for quite a long time. He also knew that the ultimate outcome of the efforts to maintain a white tyranny over a colored majority will be a victory for the majority. When that day comes, the Catholic bishop does not propose to have his church in the position the now dominant Dutch Reformed Church—most unbending champion of white rule—will be in. In other words, the Catholic bishop is a real church statesman. He also happens to talk like a real Christian. Could it be that the two things are one?

Jinnah's Death May Cause Trouble

MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH, whose sudden death fell like a thunderclap on the entire East, was one of that handful who could claim to have established an important nation almost single-handed. Up to the very eve of India's partition very few, even among Jinnah's Moslem followers, believed that Pakistan would actually come into existence. Some who knew Jinnah well — if any could claim that distinction—suspected that he was himself surprised when the decision to divide India was accepted by the Congress party, and that he was none too pleased at the prospect of trying to make the truncated Moslem state a going concern. But once his demands for an independent Pakistan had been taken at face value and granted, Jinnah had no choice but to go through with it. Because Pakistan was so largely his personal creation, the question now arises as to what will happen to it with Jinnah dead. Its basic problems, both political and economic, have not been solved. In fact, hardly any progress has been made toward their solution. The economic outlook is as precarious as it was when the astonishing map of the new dominion first was drawn. Nehru's increasing tendency to resort to military measures to solve still pending territorial problems—as in Kashmir and Hyderabad—leaves Pakistan facing the prospect of a bankrupting military budget. (Robert Root, writing from India to Worldover Press, comments mournfully on the recent increase of militarism in the Dominion of India.) And it is quite possible that Jinnah's death will precipitate a furious struggle in Karachi between the powers that are already competing for Moslem support in the Near and Middle East. Mr. Jinnah was a cold, calculating, repelling figure, never loved and often feared. But by confronting England's hesitations and Gandhi's pacifism with a hard-boiled truculence, he has left his mark on Asia. Whether for good or ill, time will tell.

The Amsterdam Message

As the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches was about to adjourn it adopted this Message to the world:

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, meeting at Amsterdam, sends this message of greeting to all who are in Christ and to all who wait for his word.

We bless God and our Savior Jesus Christ, who gathers together in one the children of God that are scattered abroad. He has brought us here together at Amsterdam. We are divided from one another not only in matters of faith, order and tradition, but also by pride of nation, class and race. We cannot make the church one. But Christ has made us his own, and he is not divided. In seeking him we find one another. Here at Amsterdam we have committed ourselves afresh to him, and have covenanted with one another in constituting this World Council of Churches. We intend to stay together. We call upon Christian congregations everywhere to endorse and fulfill this covenant in their relations one with another. In thankfulness to God we commit the future to him.

When we look to Christ, we see the world—his world, to which he came and for which he died. It is filled with great hopes, but also with disillusionment and despair. Some nations are rejoicing in new freedom and power, some are bitter because freedom is denied them, some are paralyzed by division, and everywhere there is an undertone of fear. There are millions who are hungry, millions who have no home, no country and no hope.

Over all mankind hangs the peril of total war. We have to accept God's judgment upon us for our share in the world's guilt. Often we have tried to serve God and mammon, put other loyalties before loyalty to Christ, confused the gospel with our own economic or national or racial interests, and feared war more than we have hated it. As we have talked with each other here, we have begun to understand how our separation has prevented us from receiving correction from one another in Christ. And because we lacked this correction, the world has often heard from us not the Word of God but the words of men.

But there is a word of God for our world. It is that the world is in the hands of the living God, whose will for it is wholly good; that in Christ Jesus, his incarnate Word, who lived and died and rose from the dead, God has broken the power of evil once for all, and opened for everyone the gate into freedom and joy in the Holy Spirit; that the final judgment on all human history and on every human deed is the judgment of the merciful Christ; and that the end of history will be the triumph of his Kingdom, where alone we shall understand how much God has loved the world. This is God's unchanging word to the world. Millions of our fellow men have never heard it. As we are met here from many lands, we pray God to stir up his whole church to make this gospel known to the whole world, and to call on all men to believe in Christ, to hope for his coming, and to live in his love.

Our coming together to form a World Council will be vain unless Christians and Christian congregations everywhere commit themselves to the Lord of the church in a new effort to seek together, where they live, to be his witnesses and servants among their neighbors. We have to remind ourselves and all men that God has put down the mighty from their seats and exalted the humble and meek. We have to learn afresh together to speak boldly in Christ's name both to those in power and to the people, to oppose terror, cruelty and race discrimination, to stand by the outcast, the prisoner and the refugee. We have to make of the church in every place a voice for those who have no voice, and a home where every man will be at home. We have to learn afresh together what is the duty of the Christian man or woman in industry, in agriculture, in politics, in the professions and in the home. We have to ask God to teach us together to say No and to say Yes in truth. No, to all that flouts the love of Christ, to every system, every program and every person that treats any man as though he were an irresponsible thing or a means of gain, to the defenders of injustice in the name of order and to the prophets of inevitable war; Yes, to all that conforms to the love of Christ, to all who seek justice, to the peacemakers, to all who hope, fight and suffer for the cause of man, to all who—even without knowing it—look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

It is not in man's power to banish sin and death from the earth, to build the Holy Catholic Church, to conquer the hosts of Satan. It is within the power of God. And he has given us at Easter the certainty that his purpose will be accomplished. But we can on earth set up signs, humble yet great, which point to the coming victory. Till the day of that victory our lives are hid with Christ in God, and no earthly disillusionment or distress or power of hell can separate us from him. As those who wait in confidence and joy for their deliverance, let us give ourselves to those tasks which lie to our hands, and so set up signs that men may see.

Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end.

Watch Paris, Not Berlin!

THE OPTIMISM reflected in these columns last week was premature. Perhaps any optimism is premature these days, yet when a chance seems to offer to report that world affairs are moving from bad to better, rather than the other way, it is hard to resist the temptation to a little jubilation. Events, it must be confessed, have a way of making most such jubilations shortlived. So it has proved in this instance. The prospects of a communique from Moscow announcing an understanding among the four powers on the Berlin situation remains only a prospect, and a dimming one. The blockade of Berlin is still in force, and the tension in that city has become more severe during the past week—this editorial is being written on September 11—than at any time since the Russians cut off land communications with the three western zones.

This does not mean that hope for a peaceful issue from the Berlin embroglio has vanished. Negotiations are continuing, among the army commanders in Berlin and among their diplomatic superiors in Moscow. There has been no disavowal of the announcement (on which our optimistic editorial of last week was based) that an "agreement in principle" has been reached between Stalin and Molotov, on the one side, and the three A-B-F negotiators on the other. Presumably, the generals in Berlin who are supposed to be translating this "agreement in principle" into an "agreement in practice" are being held up by nothing more than technical details. Nevertheless, confidence that an agreement is close at hand and that the siege of western Berlin will soon be lifted has seeped away. How could it be otherwise after the mob outbursts in the Soviet sector of that city?

I

We cannot be too sure, at this writing, as to just what has happened in Berlin since Moscow announced "agreement in principle." David M. Nichol, a levelheaded correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, cabled on September 10 that "the initial reports of each of these new disturbances have been much exaggerated." There is no question, however, that there has been plenty of "rough stuff" employed to undermine still further the position of the western allies. The city council, with its anti-Communist majority, has certainly

been driven out of the city hall, which is in the Russian sector, and the position of the German leaders who have been opposing the Communist plans has become physically and personally perilous. In the restrained dispatch already quoted, Mr. Nichol spoke of "something dangerously close to civil war" as already loose in the city. "Dangerously close to civil war" does not sound like an approaching understanding.

Why should this be? Why should the hopeful portents of ten days ago have been wiped out by the ugly incidents which have followed in such rapid succession since then? Mobs do not riot in Russian-held territory with police and soldiers standing idly by unless the makers of Russian policy want them to riot. Why have the Berlin riots been desired? General Marshall told a press conference in which that question was asked that the outbreaks simply reproduced a familiar pattern of Communist action, and showed the Soviet desire to break up the Berlin negotiations. President Truman, insisting that the negotiations will continue, endorsed his secretary of state's analysis. But why should the Russians want to break up the negotiations?

We cannot be sure that they do. If they do, a drastic overnight about-face has occurred in Soviet policy. When the blockade of Berlin was instituted, in reply to the introduction of the A-B-F currency and the London decision to proceed to establish an A-B-F-sponsored separate West German state, Russia was eager to negotiate. Now, says the American secretary of state, she wants to break up the negotiations. Why? Here it is necessary to plunge into speculation. But if the established bases of Soviet foreign policy are borne in mind, speculation need not be very far off the truth. What are these established bases of Soviet foreign policy?

II

On the same day Communists seized the Berlin city hall the *New York Times* printed a dispatch from Sofia of far more importance than was suggested by the modest position assigned it on an inside page. This dispatch from the capital of Russia's most compliant puppet indicated (1) that Bulgaria had no stomach for war with the United States and (2) that Bulgarian Communists believed they could count on Moscow's avoiding such a war. The reason for this second conclusion was set forth in the following remarkably clear fashion, which also furnishes a summary of the established bases of Soviet foreign policy as the Bulgarian Communists understand them:

> In Soviet terms, a balance of strength has been struck that could be ruptured only under the penalty of waging war. In United States terms, the policy of containment has achieved its first objective, namely, the temporary stabilization of the line between the Soviet and Western power groups.
>
> In the Communist view, such an equilibrium, particularly when established with a world power having the striking force of the United States, must not be ruptured, because a schism would mean war, and war would mean an indefinite adjournment of the Communist expansion over the globe.
>
> A rupture is permissible only when the balance of power weighs heavily and safely in favor of the Soviet Union, the Communists believe. A balance having been struck, it therefore is necessary to call a temporary truce to gain time for the maturing of the revolutionary situation in western Europe.

This, we hold, is a sound analysis. It explains why, two months ago, the Kremlin wanted to negotiate. Weaknesses, it knew, were appearing on the Communist side—Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland. The Marshall plan was rapidly strengthening the American side, and a coming Dewey-Dulles U.S. foreign policy promised that the Marshall plan idea would soon be administered with at least equal firmness and with greater imagination and intelligence. That was the "balance of strength" the Sofia Communists recognized. That was why Stalin and Molotov were so ready to negotiate—then. If now, as President Truman and General Marshall say, they want to break up the negotiations, something must have happened to destroy that "balance of strength." What?

III

Here, we believe, one comes to the heart of the new crisis revealed by the ugly events in Berlin. For the answer to our "What?" shows that the spot to watch if one wants to know whether the tension in Europe is going to lessen or grow worse is not Berlin but Paris. If Moscow has suddenly reversed its former intentions and is now out to break up negotiations, if it is starting again to stoke up the heat on the United States (and as to this we are relying entirely on the word of the President and the secretary of state), it is because the Communist leaders think that "balance" has been destroyed at some vital spot, or can be destroyed if pressure is applied. That vital spot is France, where the life of cabinets is no longer being recorded in months or even days, but in hours, and where the waters of chaos seem about to engulf the attempt to govern through a moderate, parliamentary regime. The fate of Europe is far more at stake in the shouts from the milling deputies in the National Assembly in Paris than in the shouts from a mob milling about the Brandenburger Tor in Berlin.

For the France of the Fourth Republic, it is plain, stands on the edge of chaos. The genuine distress of great masses of the workers, the increasing failure of wages to keep within sight of the rise in prices, has produced a situation in which no center government—in which socialist participation is a necessity—can survive unless it is ready to make very large government grants to increase wages or to provide direct family living subsidies. M. Schuman's 62-hour government did not question this necessity, although it was supposed to be pledged to financial reform. As its first and only act, it offered a grant of 2,500 francs to every worker in private industry. Nevertheless, it fell immediately—because the gift was not large enough!

Financial conservatism says, "Hold prices down and the wage problem will take care of itself." But real wages in France are already so far below the prewar level that simply keeping prices from rising will not suffice; they must be driven down if the conservative prescription is to work. Yet the one thing every Frenchman knows is that so far no one has figured out a way to keep prices from continuing to soar, let alone holding them where they are or pushing them downward. Under such conditions, the socialists know that if they oppose demands for wage increases, they will simply be handing the in-

dustrial workers over to the Communists. Thus they are caught on the horns of a dilemma. If the government does not straighten out its finances, it will collapse in bankruptcy. If it does, by such methods as the other center parties will support, the now divided workers will unite in the Communist camp, and the Fourth Republic will land in exactly the sort of red chaos the Communists hope for.

American pressure has played an important part in pushing France into this crisis. Marshall plan benefits, as Premier-designate Queuille has bluntly told the National Assembly, have been all that has kept the various center-party governments going up to now. Marshall plan benefits, however, have been obtained at a price. The price for support of American plans in west Germany and the Ruhr turned out to be M. Bidault's head on a platter—and M. Bidault was the best of the moderates to emerge from the wartime underground Resistance. The price for meeting America's natural demands for domestic financial reform is turning out to be the inflationary dilemma, already described, in which all the center parties flounder helplessly. From an American point of view, none of the pressures which this country has brought to bear on France seem ill-advised, or even avoidable. From a French point of view, almost all of them seem to have helped produce the lunatic situation which now baffles moderates and invites extremists to plunge for power.

For that is clearly what France must expect. If a moderate government cannot be established on a semi-permanent basis, there must be a new election. Moderates know that election would resolve into a contest between General de Gaulle, on the extreme right, and the Communists. That is why they are doing everything they can think of to stall the election off. In such an election, the center parties would lose their last vestige of power; they would be ground between the millstones. However the election turned out, the resulting government would be a strong-arm affair, a semi-dictatorship rapidly heading toward a full dictatorship. If the two protagonists of right and left threw France into civil war, no one would be surprised. In any event, democracy would perish.

IV

A widespread impression exists in this country that France is in so much internal trouble because of the undercover machinations of the Communists. That the Communists are doing what they can to upset the parliamentary democracy of the Fourth Republic can be taken for granted. But the chaos in Paris today is not caused by a Communist plot. It is caused by the unbridged gap between the workers' pay and the cost of the workers' food and shelter, plus the workers' sullen belief that no matter what taxes the government may vote to provide funds to bridge that gap, the well-to-do will manage to avoid paying such taxes. Of course the Communists profit from such anger as this in the ranks of labor, and as the chaos spreads the Communist gains will increase. Nor will these gains be confined to France. By capturing power there, or simply by reducing the French government to confusion and impotence, the Communists in France will make it possible for international Communism to outflank or pierce any "thus far and no farther" line which the United States and its allies may have drawn across Germany and Italy.

If the President and Secretary Marshall are right, if the Russians have changed their minds about wanting to negotiate, then this prospect of collapse by parliamentary government in France, we are convinced, furnishes the explanation. Those who hope for peace and world order watch with bated breath the rowdy events in Berlin. That is natural, for mobs and trigger-happy police and scuffling soldiers and kidnapings and "buzzing" airplanes look like coming trouble. And it is by no means certain that trouble will not come in Berlin. Nevertheless, the city to watch most closely at this juncture is Paris. *There* is where the issue is being settled between continued Russian pressure and Russian cooperation in establishing at least a semblance of peaceful order in Europe.

If France works its way out of this crisis with a moderate parliamentary government still in control, western Europe will take a new grip on its democratic allegiance and Moscow will disclose a new eagerness for negotiations. But if France is thrown into an election of extreme violence, which is followed by a government of dictatorial character, and that produces a mounting possibility of civil war, why should the Kremlin then be interested in accommodation with the United States? The Moscow game then will be to sit back, to avoid final showdowns and final agreements, to aid where possible in keeping the European situation stirred up, and for the rest, to let nature take its course. Or, as John Foster Dulles has said, the Communist policy will be, "Not war, not peace, but chaos and confusion." Today what is happening in Paris is doing more than what is happening in Berlin to make that policy succeed.

VERSE

The Spirit of Hope

AH, well for him who knows, when each new goal
Eludes his steps, 'tis only that the soul
To farther goals may speed, and that the eyes
May thus be lifted toward a fairer prize;
Who called at eve to lay his hopes away,
Knows higher hopes shall come with breaking day.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

The Deathless Hope

WHEN fate involves the world in night
And war looms, devilish and dread,
What is the hope that still can cheer
Our heart, and lift our head?

We look back on the darkened years,
Lament man's needless grief and loss.
One hope—Earth never can forget
A Man upon a Cross.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Why South America Growls

By Carleton Beals

"IT IS HIGH TIME," remarks the *Diario* of Guatemala, "that the broken fragments of 16th and 17th century European imperialism in the New World be swept into a neat pile of human freedom." "It is high time," declares a Venezuelan official eyeing the Dutch oil-refining islands and the British possessions of Trinidad, Tobago and Grenada a few miles off the coast, "that European sovereignty in the New World be liquidated." At the recent Pan-American conference at Bogotá, Guatemala had a resolution calling for the elimination of European sovereignty in this hemisphere. Another resolution, introduced by Venezuela, demanded democratic plebiscites in all European colonies. It is high time . . .

Already the claims of Guatemala, Argentina and Chile versus Europe have set off international fireworks over Belize (so-called British Honduras), the Farallones islands off Argentina and the part of Antarctica below Cape Horn. How far will their moves be backed by the rest of Latin America? How far by the United States?

I

At the 1947 Rio conference a two-thirds rule was pushed through, making any decisions by that margin mandatory on all the American countries. The chief aim of this Washington-promoted ruling was doubtless to offset possible neutrality on the part of any of the nations in case of a conflict in this hemisphere. If now two-thirds of the Pan-American governments decide to back the nations having disputes with Great Britain, or decide to liquidate all European ownership in the New World, will the United States, desirous first of all of having a solid bloc of countries vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, obey such a mandate? Or will it seek convenient technical loopholes, as Argentina did during World War II when she found neutrality more profitable than joining in with her sister nations?

How will this new demand affect the Monroe Doctrine? Its clauses dealing with non-intervention in European affairs went by the boards long ago. But its western-hemisphere provisions are still alive, though in new form. The Monroe Doctrine is no longer a unilateral United States doctrine; gradually it has come to rest on a broad continental case of non-intervention, joint consultation, common defense and action. Shall it now be expanded, as Guatemala and other lands to the south demand, to lay down the general policy that all European sovereignty in the New World must be abolished—"America for the Americans"? This is the burden of the Guatemalan and Venezuelan proposals, and it is likely that they will be backed tacitly or openly by all the other Latin American countries.

At the 1947 Rio conference a defense area was mapped out from pole to pole, and the twenty-one nations of the Pan-American Union jointly guaranteed its defense. But this is a region in which are embedded British, French and Dutch territories. It includes Antarctica, another bone of contention. Those European countries and the possessions were not consulted when this overall picture was laid out, any more than the other New World countries were when the Monroe Doctrine was first proclaimed in an anxious moment of feared European aggression and expansion.

II

Present disputes over sovereignty range from the ice floes of Antarctica to the steaming jungles of Central America. These are the climatic extremes in a continent where Great Britain now seeks to defend unprofitable remnants of her badly broken empire. Her battleships have raced to the stormy islands of Antarctica and into the sultry Caribbean. In those same ice-bound waters to the far south an Argentine fleet lately maneuvered, and Perón's country is now building a big new naval base at Ushaia on Beagle canal near Cape Horn, a grim little port that since 1884 had been used as a penal colony. Chile's warships also have been on the prowl. Early this year her president, González Videla, dressed in furs like an Eskimo trader, set foot in "Chilean" Antarctica to unfurl his nation's flag over permanent garrisons and lay more formal claim to a region that was officially declared an integral part of Chile in 1940—though covered by the Spanish royal cedula granted to Pedro Sánchez de Hoz way back in 1539.

Far to the north, Guatemala countered the sending in of British Royal Marines and their deployment through the frontier chicle jungles by flying troops to her own northwestern jungle borders and denouncing British occupation of "sovereign Guatemalan territory." Thus internationally as well as climatically, the chewing gum kingdom is one of the hottest corners in the Americas.

All three countries have appealed for continental backing and the application of inter-American principles against European aggression. President González Videla issued a ringing call for such support. The sending in of British marines, he affirmed, was an overt attack on inter-Americanism, and all the republics should take up the cudgels. A high Argentine official declared, "The Argentine government does not have to ask permission from anybody to occupy Antarctic lands which are a part of the national patrimony." Nevertheless Argentina has appealed for continental solidarity.

Guatemala, also calling for Pan-American aid and particularly for United States backing, assumes that British claims to Belize, established long after the Monroe Doctrine forbade such acquisitions, have been voided. In a recent visit to a new agricultural colony in northern Petén, President Juan José Arévalo made it a point to fly over Belize as a gesture of rightful ownership. Guatemala has tried to interest Mexico, which would receive a northern strip of Belize, and has managed to get official declarations of sympathy or support

from other Latin American countries and from many organizations and newspapers all over the hemisphere.

III

But the problem of European possessions in America is not merely one of territorial claims. It is highlighted by a growing unrest in all those badly exploited, badly neglected colonies which once upon a time either had strategic importance or enriched the mother countries. Today, except for bauxite mining in the Guianas and oil-refineries on Dutch Curacao and Aruba, they wallow half-abandoned and are merely an administrative burden, though they do furnish jobs for flat-tire European officials and cast-offs.

That was the way Britain tried to take care of the Duke of Windsor and Wallie. But the duke found no idyllic peace these troubled times in the Bahamas. From the day he started golfing there, he was beset with serious economic, food and labor problems. Similar difficulties beset the entire region. The whole Caribbean and Central American area has been swept abruptly into the main current of modern life by new air developments.

Before the recent war, the Caribbean islands were mostly aloof little dots where nothing much ever happened. But silver wings now drop down daily from the sky even into the small islands. Radio news laces the air. Movies have come in. Inflation, new civilized needs, new ideas have carried them into the whirlpool of world events. Poverty-stricken folk, long resigned to semi-starvation, bad health and no education, have rubbed their eyes, are waking up, stretching themselves and leaping forth almost like alarm clock automatons. There is scarcely an island, however small, that does not now have a labor union—something unheard of shortly before the war even in large places. Literary clubs, artist groups, little magazines and papers, "democratic" clubs have sprung up.

Here and there socialists and communists rear their heads. Bold leaders, many of them arrant demagogues, rustle about among the masses. Slogans old and new burst forth. The whole population is milling about, demanding political and economic rights heretofore never dreamed of. Some are demanding full political independence—and with democratic rights. In the past few years all three Guianas have been hit by "subversive" conspiracies or uprisings.

Jamaica has become a storm center. During the war, Great Britain imposed harsh restrictions on the island. Labor and political leaders were jailed, civil rights abolished. Then, in the very midst of the war, Britain suddenly reversed her policy. The jail doors were flung open and the island folk, though mostly illiterate, were granted universal free suffrage and what is almost tantamount to free crown colony status. The result—due in part to official blunders, in part to poverty and ignorance—has been the establishment of a pseudo labor dictatorship with many fascistic trimmings. This however is not so important as the fact that the whole area is awakening so rapidly. Powerful new currents are at work everywhere, and their movement is toward popular freedom, democracy and political independence. Explosions, mayhap international conflict, are in the making in Jamaica.

IV

Serious observers are now asking whether the time is ripe to lay down a long-range peaceful program for the liquidation of overseas imperialism, a program that will work out sound methods, set time schedules for European evacuation, and promote basic preparatory institutions and farsighted plans. This, they argue, would be better than to let things drift into chaotic controversy, ugly revolts and perhaps corresponding repressions by European troops right on our doorstep. There is a growing feeling in some quarters that it might be to everybody's best interests if the United States were to insist ere long that one compensation for her aid to Europe might be the settling of such pending issues and claims in an orderly, democratic and progressive manner. It would not look too well for some of the Washington aid to come back to the New World in the form of battleships and guns to suppress human freedom. The United States seeks no additional New World territory, but it can scarcely view with pleasure the imperialistic sweatshops that still fester within a few miles of our borders.

Nor is it quite in harmony with the true spirit of inter-Americanism, the principle of non-intervention, and the general desire for pacific settlement of international problems that has evolved since the last United States marines were withdrawn from Haiti and Nicaragua, to have British battleships rushing around and putting armed landing parties ashore—whatever the provocation—in the somewhat arrogant, bellicose style of the 19th century. This is at least a violation of the spirit of the newer inter-Americanism. Better methods should be worked out.

Why are Chile and Argentina so suddenly interested in Antarctica? Is it a bona fide interest or is it just a maneuver to arouse false patriotism at home and take citizens' minds off serious domestic problems? Chile's González Videla has just had a mean brush with the Communists, who helped put him in office, and with labor. One of four candidates, he was seated by a scant 50,000 majority, hence does not enjoy the broad popular support he should have. The terrific inflation in Chile has caused universal discontent. So Chile's sudden flamboyant demands about Antarctica may indeed be something of a flag-waving stunt. But in Argentina prosperity is great, inflation is less than in any other New World country, standards of living are rising for all classes, labor has been pampered aplenty, and today Juan Perón is far more popular than ever before; therefore this motive of provoking artificial nationalism is not so apparent as in Chile's case.

But whatever the ostensible reasons, the Antarctic controversy goes deep. Over the past century, but particularly during the past few decades, there has been in both Argentina and Chile a strong southward frontier movement that has become a great national urge. Patagonia and Fireland are the Texas and California of

those two countries. When the American Geographic Society's detailed geodetic maps of Chile were made about twenty years ago, such flourishing far-south communities as Puerto Aisén and Natales did not even exist. Today they are bustling towns, with paved streets and nearly all modern public services, catering to hinterlands where millions of farm acres have been opened up and roads, schools, hotels and movie theaters built. New mines have been opened. The recent big coal and mineral discoveries in the Andes, some of which are already being exploited, promise to make Natales considerably more than a meat and wool port. In Tierra del Fuego, more than a million head of sheep run today. Great sawmills are cutting lumber almost down to Cape Horn. A new oil gusher has been opened at Springhill, within a stone's throw of the tip of the continent. Canneries, textile mills, leather factories are projected under Perón's five-year plan.

It is likely also that the tip of South America will serve the direct international air routes from Chile and Argentina to Australia. Planes will find the great circle route, which lies partly over the Antarctic continent, the shortest, and no more impractical than flying to Europe via Labrador and Iceland. As a result of the recent world war, trade with the "down-under" countries has expanded. With the strong impulse of these southward frontier movements, Chile and Argentina are logically called upon to develop this portion of Antarctica, rather than are more distant powers. And both countries will probably be as jealous of that segment of the globe as the United States has always been of encroachments in the near-by Caribbean.

V

At the moment, Belize is more vital than Antarctica. Guatemala really needs that colony. Her demand for it is not simply a braggadocio gesture. She is not merely pressing what she considers her valid claims over a region originally seized by force and established as a colony long after the Monroe Doctrine forbade such a thing. A fifth of Guatemala, and by all odds the richest fifth, is almost wholly undeveloped; namely, the great northern Petén jungle region. This area is interspersed here and there with fine livable highlands. It is the greatest source of chicle. It has one of the finest and largest stands of timber left in the world, immense forests of mahogany and ironwood. There is little doubt but that it is rich in oil and contains considerable gold and silver and other minerals. Its farming possibilities are enormous, especially for rice, sugar cane, corn, cotton, but in part also for rye, barley, oats and even wheat. Much of it is a natural habitat for citrus and other fruits and for vegetables.

The present government in Guatemala is keenly interested in developing this rich northern region rapidly. President Arévalo recently told me that he considers this one of the major objectives of his administration. Among other things, a big new land colony has been established, with a simple but modern central community, for which both Guatemalan and immigrant farmers are sought. In a few years this colony can supply not only most of Guatemala's food needs but also those of much of Honduras, thus eliminating imports.

But the whole project is stymied without Belize, through which any oil pipeline would have to pass. Belize now bottles up Guatemala's great inland empire. Petén and Belize form one natural geographic and economic unity. With their consolidation, this backward, lost but extraordinarily rich corner could be rapidly opened up to become one of the most prosperous centers of the New World.

VI

It is too bad that such effort is blocked by a stale territorial controversy, especially since Belize no longer has any strategic importance for England. Moreover, rapid British exploitation of its more accessible natural products and utter neglect of all else have made it one of the most backward spots in this hemisphere and actually a burden on the mother country. Thus to England Belize is little more than a symbol of battleship power and romantic, half-forgotten imperial glories. A more sensible policy than flaunting battleships, one more helpful to the New World and to everybody concerned, would be a graceful relinquishment of sovereignty, perhaps in return for trade agreements and other tangible concessions in Petén, perhaps on a basis of mutual cooperation in building the region into a productive prosperity beneficial to its residents and to the world. That would be to substitute statesmanship for pride.

Unfortunately such vital matters are in danger of being shunted to one side in Pan-American councils because of the single-track preoccupation with Europe and the Soviet Union. But the settlement of such disputes, the liquidation of European imperialism and the development of new areas are as important for the defense of this hemisphere and the offsetting of Communist inroads as the sending of outworn munitions to countries more likely to use them for domestic oppression than against any overseas aggressor. Defense and the war against Communism should be pushed ahead in the entire New World from a purely negative opposition to a constructive goal.

One requirement of this broader program might well be the solution of the question of European colonies through cooperative action that would set the world an example in the orderly working out of controversies and the promotion of human freedom and political independence. This is a worthy enterprise for the joint action of all the western-hemisphere nations. It might indeed be a long-range goal of a revitalized Monroe Doctrine.

Mary

WITH LOVE that counted not the cost,
She broke the alabaster; filled
With but one thought: it was her Friend
For whom the precious gift was spilled.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Studying Religion in the Universities

By Bernard Iddings Bell

I HAVE TALKED OVER with any number of educators the neglect of our universities and colleges to bring religion to the attention of their students as a discipline which is as basic and as respectable as the scientific discipline, the creative discipline, the social discipline. I have pointed out to them that ignorance of religion and religions lessens the human impulse toward endurance and daring as well as toward compassion and charity; that it prevents a right valuation of human motives and therefore hinders a sound understanding of history, of sociology, of human behavior in general; that it interferes with appreciation of the arts; that—but it is not necessary to go on. The greater part of those to whom I speak about it do not for a moment deny (a) that there is an ignoring of the powerful and unavoidable character of religion, and (b) that this ignoring does great harm to students both as individuals and as builders of a sound society.

But, they ask, how can one teach religion in a university committed to no sectarian view of life or truth? There are so many religions; so many varieties even of Christianity, to take only one of the religions: three hundred or so kinds of Protestants and at least three kinds of Catholics—Roman, Orthodox, Anglican. To none of these may a university commit itself without constriction of outlook. They say, these conscientious and troubled directors of higher education, that for the sake of peace on the quadrangles and good will among the scholars the wise thing to do is to bar religion altogether from university consideration.* These fears are mostly thoughtless and conventional, unreal and unimaginative. I know they are, know it from experience.

The Voice of Experience

In a university college where I once occupied a chair, I was asked by the faculty to look after the freshman class in a year's required course intended to help them relate their religion to the scientific and philosophical disciplines to which they were being introduced; this in order that they might have less difficulty in combining the spiritual and the intellectual. These freshmen came from widely varied backgrounds: Anglican, Lutheran, Protestant of every sort, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Jewish Orthodox, Jewish Liberal, as well as backgrounds that bade them look upon religion as nothing more than an archaic superstition.

At the end of a year I was compelled to report to my colleagues that what they desired could not be done. The trouble was not that it is impossible, or even difficult, to correlate religion and science and philosophy, but that these students had no religion to relate to anything, at least no religion which involved thinking, no religion about which one could talk intelligently. With rare exceptions, all they possessed in the way of religion was some vague loyalty to an ecclesiastical group—about half of them had this; a number of prejudices, chiefly against communions other than that with which they were vaguely affiliated; a few quaint moral taboos; scarcely more than infantile notions about God; devotional techniques which rarely went beyond "Now I lay me" and "God bless papa and mama."

One could not tie that sort of thing up to what is arrived at by way of scientific study, or to the arts, or to philosophy. Maybe it would be well, I suggested, if the faculty would permit me first to teach the youngsters, objectively and with no care for what might be their reactions, a little about what religion has always been and still is and about what religious people of the major faiths today believe and do and why they believe and do it. The faculty consented and for several years the course was taught. Former students write me even yet to express thanks for the help it gave them.

A Course That Clicked

That course was divided into three sections. One of these was taught by me as professor of religion, the second by the professor of biology, the third by the professor of social ethics. It may be interesting to outline briefly what each section contained.

The object of the first part of the course was to present, with no attempt to influence the student's belief or disbelief in anything, the basic facts, ideas and practices back of all religions and, in particular, back of Judaism and Christianity, the religions of the West. The following topics were dealt with seriatim:

1. The concept of supernatural reality; religion as an attempt to find contact with that reality; a review of the development of religion from its vague beginnings in a sense of *manu*, on through fetishism, animism, anthropomorphism, henotheism, to monotheism.

2. The basic concepts back of religious practice; the concept of sin, the concept of salvation by sacrifice, the concept of mystical aspiration, the concept of prayer (together with something of prayer technique).

3. The development of Judaism from the animism of Genesis through the anthropomorphism of Abraham and the henotheism of Moses to the moralized monotheism of the later prophets; a brief survey of Jewish history as throwing light upon this development; a brief survey of the Old Testament, with comment upon its folklore, legal codes, history, poetry, drama and philosophy.

*By the same reasoning the universities ought, it would seem, to bar the teaching of philosophy, since philosophers differ about themselves so widely; and history, because of the varying theories held about history; and politics, for fear of offending democrats or fascists or communists, Aristotelians or Kantians; and science, because mechanists and vitalists debate vigorously and often hatefully about the meaning of what has been discovered scientifically. But no, it seems the danger is serious only when we come to religion. The truth is that there is moral dynamite in religion. The real reason for avoiding it is that it is ruinous to living in an ivory tower.

4. The Christian religion, both as a development from Judaism and as a new thing in its concept of Incarnate God seeking man in response to the search of man for God; the effect of this concept upon the ideas of sin, sacrifice, mystical aspiration and prayer.

5. The concept of the church as the mystical body of Incarnate God; reliance upon grace or supernatural help from Christ, the conquering Comrade; the two major and five minor sacraments; the priestly and prophetic ministry.

6. The story of Catholic Christianity to the Reformation: its basis of authority in religion; the definition of doctrine in the fourth and fifth centuries; the growth of the papacy; the schism between East and West; the place of the church in the medieval world; the significance of monasticism; the weakening of the medieval ideal.

7. Protestant Christianity: its basis of authority, the Bible; its relationship to humanism and to the rise of nationality; Luther's principles and those of Calvin; the wars over definition; the triumphant era of Protestantism; its undermining by biblical criticism and the development of science. Also the rise of modernism, with the principles thereof. Also the Counter-Reformation in the Roman Church. Also the Anglo-catholic position.

8. The Christian moral life: its emphasis upon positive rather than negative morality; the conventional analyses of sins—positive and negative, thought, word and deed, personal and social; the technique of repentance; the Catholic sacrament of penance and its Protestant equivalents; moral growth as a process rather than a sudden achievement.

9. Christian worship: the Catholic sacrifice of the mass; the ancient offices; the worship of Protestantism; the service of beauty to worship; the more usual vestments and ornaments of worship.

What Can Be Accomplished

This ended the first third of the course, which occupied in time one-half of the year. It should again be remarked that in every case the presentation was in no sense critical. The purpose was merely to make the student cognizant of what the religious experiment has been, of some of the things men do to express their aspiration toward God, of how they have formulated their beliefs. The intention was not to convince the student but to inform him. So carefully was this kept in mind that never once was there the slightest indignation at the presentation on the part of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, various kinds of Protestants, Jews. As the course went on the result was usually that each student understood more fully the implications of his own inchoate religion and also came to a fair appreciation of the practices and beliefs of those brought up in ways different from his own. It deepened conviction and cultivated tolerance.

The second part of the course dealt with the relationship between the religious method and the scientific method. The student was helped to look at each of these methods fairly, to realize that they were not the same thing or phases of the same thing, to appreciate that for true knowledge both rational and mystical approaches are required. The third part of the course was designed to help the student realize the vital connection between religion and social problems such as ownership, luxury, poverty, finance, marriage, war. It was really elementary social ethics taught from a theistic point of view.

Unfortunately, because of the large number of students who took the course and the small number of instructors available, it was necessary to use the lecture method; a conference method would have been much more effective. Attempts were made to supplement the inadequacies of the lecture method by individual interviews, by requiring the reading of selected books and presentation of written analyses of them, and by assigning original papers.

We were far from believing that this experimental course was entirely satisfactory; but those who went through it exhibited in subsequent years a respect for religion which they never would have acquired had they not gained the impression thus early in their undergraduate days that religion is as interesting and respectable as science, the arts and philosophy.

Colleges Afraid of Religion

Most colleges, even when their officials are deeply concerned about the irreligion of the students, seem afraid to face religion thus objectively. And until it is so faced as a part of the race's experience it is not likely that most undergraduates' reactions toward it will be anything but sentimental and unhealthy. It is unfortunate that many colleges because of sheer neglect should be sending into society alumni with no religious interests and with large contempt for the mystical life. It is inexcusable that this attitude should be due to sheer timidity in teaching.

Whatever be the answer to the question of how to restore a sane religious interest to the secularized and therefore lopsided approach to learning and life which characterizes American higher education today, one thing ought to be clear; namely, that the problem is one not of undergraduate neglect but of faculty neglect. In respect to religion as in respect to economics and politics and most things else, the college student by and large takes his beliefs and disbeliefs, his likes and dislikes, his notions and prejudices, from his instructors. There are a few rare creatures among the undergraduates who seriously question the assumptions and *ipse dixit*'s of their professors. The vast majority however have neither desire nor ability to do so. Even the exceptional ones, the rebels, are far less resistant than they think they are. It is safe to assume—and to work with undergraduates on the basis of that assumption—that what the faculty thinks, the students will think also. Certainly this is the case with respect to religion. Consequently, in seeking to restore in the colleges a diet which will include religion of some sort as a necessity for sound thinking and sane doing, the undergraduates may and should be largely overlooked and attention concentrated where it rightly belongs, on the administration and the teaching staffs.

It is well also to note how dependent intellectually

the college faculties are upon the graduate and professional schools, upon that which is beyond the primary degree, even beyond the doctor's degree. The university college is, for good or ill, an intellectual dependency of the university as a whole, which means, in practice, of the postgraduate sections thereof. I know that this is true at the University of Chicago, where for the time being I live and have my work. I know from experience that it is true at Columbia. Both Columbia College and Barnard College take their color from the university. It is more plainly true every year that Harvard University is a bigger and more important entity than Harvard College. It is true of Yale. It begins to be true even of Princeton, the most undergraduate of our older universities.

It is so in every genuine university. Even geographical separation of the college from most of the rest of the university, as at Northwestern, does not destroy intellectual domination of the college by the more mature sections of the institution. What the whole university is and thinks, that the college imitates, even though (as at the University of Chicago) the authorities of the college would like to have it otherwise. At Chicago they may to some extent have escaped from dictation as to teaching methods, but in intellectual "set" the resistance seems to most unbiased observers of life and thought along the Midway to have been ineffective. The fact is that the collegiate tail cannot and does not wag the university dog.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that the many small colleges which are independent, not organic parts of universities, also tend to take on the color of the postgraduate sections of the universities, for the simple reason that such colleges do not train their own teachers. These come to them from the university graduate schools. Even the most illustrious of such colleges are intellectual satellites. In respect to attitudes and opinions they too are wagged by the multicaudate universities; they retain small motion of their own—less and less as the years go on.

In short, the core of any problem having to do with American higher education, including the problem of religion, will be found not in the colleges but in the universities and, within the universities themselves, not in their undergraduate sections but among the research scholars in the graduate and professional schools.

It seems to many thoughtful observers that all this is curiously overlooked by those who approach the problem of how to get on with, possibly to influence, higher education in respect to religion. Their aim seems to be almost entirely the plausibly laudable one of dealing with the religion of undergraduates as though the undergraduates can be immunized from the attitudes toward religion which originate at the highest scholarly levels. Nothing could be more unreal. The problem of religion and higher education will never be solved by undergraduate bull sessions and by discussion groups under direction so long as these remain extracurricular, extramural. Such activities are ignored, politely or scornfully, by those who set the tone of undergraduate thinking; namely, those who teach.

A few hundred graduates may perhaps be salvaged by direct approach, but while we are saving these few from intellectual blind spots we shall find that many more have been infected by irreligious contagion. What is most needed is to get at the leaders of university administration and thinking, at those in the graduate schools who are even now being trained and conditioned to assume academic leadership in the colleges and universities of a decade or so hence.

Why Are the Dixiecrats?

By Eugene Peacock

SOME THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE in the south are calling the current states' rights movement a "conspiracy against brotherhood." This is however a half-truth, for in its contemporary form the states' rights movement does not have the rational basis of a fully articulate conspiracy, aligned though it be against the Christian doctrine of brotherhood. It is the product of a complex social milieu whose origins go back at least eighty-five years to the tragic experiences of the Reconstruction era which followed what southerners prefer to call the War between the States.

The fundamentally emotional nature of this movement is revealed in a speech made recently by a Dixiecrat before a civic club in a southern city. This man was a member of his state's delegation to this year's national convention of the Democratic party in Philadelphia, a delegation which walked out over the issue of states' and civil rights. Announcing as his theme "States' Rights and Democracy," the speaker began by declaring, "I am an unreconstructed rebel." Then for five minutes he discoursed on states' rights as dealt with in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. The remaining twenty-five minutes of his talk he devoted to a discussion of white supremacy and the threat to it contained in the civil rights planks of the two major parties.

His statement was forthright and clear. He frankly pointed out that to allow all the eligible persons among the 900,000 Negroes of his state to vote would produce a radical alteration of the state's political complexion. Such a change, he alleged, would bring to pass a multitude of horrors, and he adduced all the bugaboos which are usually cited as inevitable accompaniments of the overthrow of "southern tradition."

Of greater significance than the speaker's views, however, was the manner in which he supported them, for this gives an index to the nature of the states' rights movement. Having declared his position as a partisan of the Dixiecrat candidates for the presidency and vice-

presidency, he quoted at length from various "southern" history texts descriptions of the misfortunes brought by "Negro rule" during the Reconstruction era, and warned his audience that these same conditions would prevail again if the states' righters were defeated. Thus he addressed himself not to the mind but to the emotions. He skillfully applied the technique so effectively used by a certain type of southern politician for many years; namely, appeal to the sense of inferiority which gnaws at the spirit of many a southerner.

In the question-and-answer period following his talk, the speaker was asked several pointed questions which revealed that his audience, composed entirely of native southerners, was not nearly so solidly behind the Dixiecrats as he had assumed. He was asked whether he thought racial conditions in the south had any bearing on the status of the United States in the international sphere, and answered—incredibly—"No." He was asked whether the primary motive behind the Dixiecrats was concern over the political theory of states' rights or determination to maintain the status quo regarding race relations. After considerable hedging he finally said: "Well, I personally would like very much to see the status quo maintained. No true southerner hates the Negro. We know how to live with him and deal with him without interference from the outside. Of course, there are going to be some Communists who will try to stir up trouble and cause race riots in the south." He was then asked whether he thought it honest to tell the public that the battle was over states' rights when it was really over civil rights. To this he replied: "There are some people who do think that we ought to come right out in the open and say what we are fighting for."

Forces Behind the Movement

How shall we interpret this movement? Shall we put it down solely to evil men who enjoy certain privileges at the expense of their fellow men and are resolved to keep them "in their place" lest their own privileges be taken away? Some extremists hold that this is the case. But those who are closer to the scene have a more realistic understanding of the situation.

The fundamental fact to be remembered is this: The south is a tremendous reservoir of frustration and hysteria which, created by defeat in the Civil War and the unbelievable suffering following it—for which there never was any ameliorating Marshall plan—and fed by the continuing "colonization" of the region by outside financial interests, has been dammed up here for almost a century. This is a condition of psychological and social maladjustment so complex that no brief sketch can do it justice. It has to be experienced to be understood. Undoubtedly there have been economic and political tributaries to this reservoir of frustration. But its primary source is a feeling of inferiority, insecurity and fear. For this there is no quick and easy cure. Its allies are poverty and ignorance. It can be done away in time through sympathy, understanding and persevering patience.

This is the over-all background of the states' rights movement. The people who support the movement, however, do not all do so for the same reasons. Without doubt there are those who honestly fear the trends toward centralization of government which may lead to a totalitarian state. In this group are some of the south's most progressive thinkers on race, men and women who have, for example, advocated repeal of the poll tax and several other measures called for in the President's civil rights proposals. Then there are other supporters who, however much they deplore contemporary injustices, believe that the race problem in the south will be worsened instead of bettered through the imposition of civil rights legislation by the federal government. They believe that effective progress can be made only from within the several states as their citizens continuously work to correct injustices and improve conditions.

Privileged Groups' Fears

And finally—the fact must be faced candidly—there are undoubtedly privileged groups which oppose any change in the status quo because it would endanger their position. Some politicians and political machines come under this classification. Several southern states have already repealed their poll tax laws and some are permitting citizens to vote in primary elections without discrimination on the basis of race, color or religion. But there are obvious situations in which politicians retain their power through two well known devices; namely, patronage and the limited and controlled electorate, patronage being the major means of controlling the limited electorate. To extend the complete voting rights of democracy to all the people—especially were this done by the federal government from the outside—would seriously weaken the power of these politicians and conceivably end their public careers, with the consequent loss of political emoluments. Such people, naturally, stump for white supremacy and oppose all efforts toward widening the base of democracy. To this group belong also the bigots, of whom the south is by no means the sole repository.

Certain concluding observations seem pertinent. In the first place, the current states' rights movement in the south is largely a synthetic affair, led by professional—mostly minor—politicians, who have found the great majority of the more prominent political leaders either cool or lukewarm to their movement, and are having great difficulty, despite the cooperation of a reactionary press, in arousing enthusiastic support among the general public. The movement is strongest in the two or three states where the Negro population is largest and the states' righters are most vocal. Even there, however, they are encountering considerable opposition. In some instances, they are compelled to resort to various legal devices to keep the names of the major party candidates out of the contest in the November elections.

Dixiecrats Are Not the South

In the second place, it is incorrect to claim that the Dixiecrats represent the south. We say that the Greeks killed Socrates, but Socrates was tried before a council of 501 Greeks of whom 281 voted for his death and 220 for acquittal. The situation is similar in the south, where a growing minority of people with troubled consciences

and open minds are being driven together by the forces of reaction and are beginning to make themselves felt. The very violence of the reactionaries is a measure of the strength of the progressive forces. One does not feel called upon to fight when there is none to meet the challenge or to fling it out.

Finally, there are many thoughtful southerners in all walks of life who look with great concern upon the years immediately ahead. As is already evident, the forces of privilege, ignorance and fear will not easily surrender to the requirements of brotherhood. Some southern liberals anticipate in the next quarter-century the bitterest struggle that the south has witnessed since Reconstruction. It will call for all the patience and understanding and courage of which the American people are capable, for there is real danger that in the continuing struggle to achieve brotherhood we shall cease to be brotherly at all.

BOOKS

A Mellower 'Gloomy Dean'

MYSTICISM IN RELIGION. *By William Ralph Inge. University of Chicago Press, $3.50.*

AFTER THE FAILURE of the modernist movement in the Church of Rome, the name "modernism" underwent an eclipse. It must be owned that it was not a happy name. Religion does not need to be in the mode. But the idea was both courageous and necessary: those who teach religion must be honest about both science and history. That double and increasingly onerous obligation still holds. Dr. Inge, who was for twenty-one years dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and was dubbed "the Gloomy Dean" mainly because of his refusal to equate Christianity with socialism, has throughout his long life—now in sight of the nineties—kept the flag of modernism flying. His defense of the religion of experience against that of authority has however not been orthodox even in such an unorthodox party as the modernists'. Many people then, when they think of the failure of modernism, do not reflect that this thinker (and a number less well known) has kept alive the issue: Can a man be not only devoutly religious and scientifically honest, but still a loyal servant of one of the older communions?

Dr. Inge has never put his case with greater persuasiveness than in the present volume, the fruit of his old age. He is not thought of as a modernist because his position is based on Platonism. From this he derives his firm belief in mysticism, that discipline of practice and prayer whereby the soul may come to have at least some direct experience of God. In stating this his lifelong faith, Dr. Inge does not here add much to those important volumes, such as his *Philosophy of Plotinus* and the Paddock lectures, *Faith and its Psychology*, on which his reputation was built and will remain founded. The interest of this book is the further enlargement and strengthening of his position by introducing confirmations from the "perennial philosophy," his appreciation of the part that is played by the Sanskrit canon in that eternal gospel which has been revealed not to one chosen people but to mankind at large.

In America—or so it would seem to an onlooker—the immense vitality of the country has allowed for a vast change of outlook without such acute crises in thought as have vexed, for instance, Anglicanism. As Matthew Arnold said, some people have to change their positions but others find the ground changed under them. Even neo-orthodoxy is a very different thing here from what it is in Switzerland. For America is still rising, still drawn on by a faith in progress. Europe really lost that faith after 1914-18. The only question now is whether she can keep any faith, even in humanity. Dr. Inge faces the fact that humanity is confronted with the issue of not merely, Can civilization be salvaged? but, Can the human race go on? He finds the answer in inward religion. If enough men and women choose to live a life which keeps them in touch with God and so free of greed and fear, they can be—as they have always been—the salt of the earth, the light of the world. Whether the sufficient number will be found he does not say, because he believes in free will and is sure that this free choice is made as a creative act by each soul. We live by faith and hope, not by certainty. In his first chapter however, called "The Meaning of Mysticism," he is careful to say that his hope in this interior life is based on the enormous influence which spiritual persons exercise not only upon other individuals but, it would seem, upon the large-scale events of the world.

His own position in regard to "social action" is an interesting and defensible one. He does not believe in utopianism, and in the past this intelligent unbelief, he felt, excused him for saying some hard things at the expense of materialistic improvers of mankind. This book, incidentally, is perhaps the most mellow he has written. But though he does not believe that this world will become a paradise he does think that it can be kept in decent order as a "soul nursery"; and to see that it is so kept is the duty and task of everyone, especially the religious. He is no escapist, and indeed is able to show that many a utopian who has used such religious phrases was really an escapist into a future that never arrives and never will.

Dr. Inge's last chapter but one, "Watchman, What of the Night?" states clearly his position: It is dark now; the universal dawn will come, but not in his world; it is our duty to keep our lamps trimmed, for then the darkness need never be Stygian but will be the necessary twilight in which we make our way toward the eternal day. This is a noble and at the same time a reasonable faith, and in his long life this clear writer and informed thinker has never put his message more persuasively.

GERALD HEARD.

Books in Brief

ORDEAL BY PLANNING. *By John Jewkes. The Macmillan Company, $3.75.* If the editor had been on his job, this notice of Mr. Jewkes' book would have run in last week's issue right along with Dr. Cameron P. Hall's article on Britain's experience under Labor party socialism. Dr. Hall thinks most things in England are either wonderful or headed in a wonderful direction. Mr. Jewkes thinks they're terrible and headed toward either a totalitarian state or breakdown. Since the Amsterdam Assembly adopted a resolution which its authors told the press by implication indicated belief that the present British socialism comes closest to meriting the designation of "Christian," Dr. Hall's article prob-

ably reflects the conclusions of liberal English churchmen. But Mr. Jewkes' minority report cannot be laughed off. Mr. Jewkes is professor of political economy at the University of Manchester. What he has done, in brief, is to take Hayek's thesis—*The Road to Serfdom*—and try to show that everything Hayek predicted in theory would happen under centralized government planning actually has happened in Britain since the Labor party took over. His book is crammed with extracts from government reports, statements by cabinet ministers to Parliament and the public, and clippings from newspapers—mainly from the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The total effect is appalling. Individual freedom is disappearing, says Jewkes, because the British people are no longer free to choose and change their occupations, to use their income as they wish, to engage in the kind of production consumers want. The planned economy has driven men of liberal spirit like Attlee and Cripps, who took office calling for an end to world trade barriers and a return to freer trade, back into economic isolationism and bilateralism. And the stake which is emerging from the Labor government's Laocoon-like struggle to establish a planned economy is "everything that is bound up with the uniqueness of personality and with the Christian ethic." For Christians, perhaps the hardest chapter either to accept or to get around is the next to the last, "The Moral Sickness of a Planned Society." Mr. Jewkes introduces it, characteristically, with a quotation from Stafford Cripps, "The prime principle of socialism . . . lies . . . in the high purpose at which we aim," and then follows with this indictment: "Since 1945 the Supreme Planners have been increasingly engaged in searching for alibis, in hunting for scapegoats and in trailing red herrings. The public have increasingly devoted themselves to the evasion of the law and to operations upon the black markets. Contempt for authority has increased; class-consciousness has become more acute; cynicism regarding corruption in public life more prevalent; personal and class irresponsibility more in evidence; gambling practices more widespread. Liberal society in all its aspects is being eaten away." Hayek was greeted with derision, but never really answered. It will be interesting to see how much of an answer British socialism has for Jewkes.

Pamphlets

A Bibliography of Bible Study for Theological Students. Princeton Seminary Library, Princeton, N. J., 85 cents. Just what the title indicates, and accordingly invaluable. A listing of all the books of importance needed for a study of the whole Bible, the Old Testament as a whole and in its parts, the New Testament ditto, and of linguistic aids to exegesis.

The Cambridge 'Platform of Church Discipline,' 1648. Essays by Frederick L. Fagley and Henry Wilder Foote. Joint Committee of the Congregational Christian Churches and the American Unitarian Association, Boston. Another tercentenary coming up, this time one that recalls an event which not only had profound influence on the development of American Congregationalism in its many forms but also set in motion forces that had much to do with bringing on the Revolutionary War. The Christian Century hopes to print something about the historical importance of the Cambridge document at the time of the tercentenary celebration late next month. Meanwhile, here is the meat of the matter in compact form. P. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

Stanley Jones Replies, Refutes, Rejoices

SIR: The first three letters in your issue for August 18 commenting on my article "Is Federal Union a Half-Way House?" need a reply.

1. H. Shelton Smith says: "E. Stanley Jones gives the clue to the basic weakness of his federal union scheme when he says that 'it preserves the drive of denominationalism.' " He did not complete the thought, for had he done so it would have canceled out his objection. The full thought as given was: "In federal union that drive is preserved and harnessed to the collective good. . . . At present the denominational drive is harnessed to competition . . . hence destructive." The contrast is the drive of the competitive colonies before they entered a federal union and the drive of the constituent states after they entered. We are no longer afraid of the local drive of a local state; we rather glory in it, for it means the strengthening of the total union. So it would be with federal union of the churches.

Again Dr. Smith says: "There is, to be sure, a significant service to be rendered by federation. . . . The next step beyond is organic union, not simply a slightly more effective form of federation." May I ask, Is our federal union of the United States only a slightly more effective form of the federation which existed among the colonies before they entered the union? Or is it a new creation, basically different, in that sovereignty has been surrendered to the union? Would a union that would have wiped out state names and state boundaries have been a more organic union than our federal union? Our federal union is organic in that it exists and acts as one organism. Federal union of the churches would be the same—organic union with a federal structure.

2. Nathanael M. Guptill says: "First, he is indulging in wishful thinking when he says that 90 per cent of all Protestant Christians would be in favor of union, federal or otherwise. Dr. Gallup finds that half or less of the Protestants of this country favor union even in principle." The estimate I made was not of union in general but of federal union. The Gallup poll put up union in general, and the pattern of union in general in the ordinary mind is amalgamation into one new church. Less than half are in favor of that. I doubt whether that many would be when it came right down to it. But I believe that 90 per cent would be in favor of federal union.

Dr. Guptill's second objection is: "He has no plan." This encourages me. It is the first time I have had that objection raised. The objection sometimes raised is that the plan is too detailed, amounting to a "blueprint." This objection that we have no plan makes me feel that in our booklet, *The Next Great Step*, outlining the plan, we are somewhere between "no plan" and "too much plan." Before the constitutional assembly meets and works out a constitution we obviously must not be too detailed.

But Dr. Guptill asks these questions: "What are the terms of the united church in America?" Reply: A federal union with sovereignty in the union and local self-government in the branches. "How do we get in?" First, by desiring to get in. Second, by each branch's considering itself as a branch and others as branches. Third, by confessing that Jesus is the Christ the Son of the living God. Fourth, by surrendering sovereignty to the union, the union in turn giving back as much local self-government as will make the branch an effective, contributive unit under the union, this to be determined by a constitutional assembly.

3. Norman Whitehouse objects to my using "undifferentiated union" in contrast to "federal union," and adds, "Dr. Douglas' plan for a corporate union would leave ample room for organizational adjustments to local needs and situations." May I ask: Does "corporate union" provide for mutual recognition of ministries or does it provide for reordination in some form? Does it provide for the retaining of all the good in our present denomina-

tions, purging the separate, sovereign, competitive entity and harnessing the purged entity to the corporate good, or does it provide for the wiping out of the name, the structure and the entity of our present denominations? If the answer is in the affirmative to the first portion of each of these questions, then you have federal union whether you call it "corporate union" or "federal union." But if the answer is in the affirmative to the second portion of the questions, then you have one undifferentiated union whether you call it "corporate union" or something else.

Since the above correspondence took place an important development has emerged which changes the picture. The Federal Council issued an invitation to the 26 bodies constituting the council to discuss union. Only six were willing to discuss it. The Federal Council was unwilling to proceed with such a small response, so turned back the whole matter to the denominations. Why was this response so small? Opinions will differ. My judgment is that the call presupposed, in the minds of many, that it meant a call to discuss union by amalgamation. Only six were willing even to discuss that. That lack of response was very illuminating. I am persuaded that had the call been for federal union the response would have been very much greater; in fact, a large majority would have responded.

When this was turned back to the denominations they appointed a plenary committee to carry on negotiations with the 11 denominations which are ready now to talk union, the understanding being that no plan of union is proposed but that all plans will be considered, including federal union. This plenary committee recently met with representatives from the Association for a United Church and asked for cooperation between these two bodies. After prayerful discussion it was agreed that our association should go out on its crusade with federal union as its overall strategy; that we would approve of amalgamation of denominations as far as possible and that we would further it as a subsidiary movement under federal union; that we would approve and publicly announce and send delegates to the coming convention to be called by the plenary committee; that our association would not call a constitutional convention as we had proposed before this plenary committee came into the field, leaving this to the plenary committee as more befitting since the call in that case would come from within the denominations themselves, but that we would do all we could to make federal union the basis of the united church. On its part, the plenary committee would give our crusade its blessing and its cooperation, and would appoint two representatives on the board of directors of the Association for a United Church and we in turn would appoint two to their committee. The representatives of the plenary committee were Douglas Horton, Mark Dawber, Truman Douglas, Henry Carpenter and Herman Morse. Dr. Horton, active in the proposed Congregational Christian and Evangelical and Reformed merger (a merger which, by the way, I heartily approve), said to our group: "Federal union will play an important part, and I believe a decisive part, in the final structure of the union of the churches as a whole."

So we are closer together than when this correspondence began.

150 Fifth Ave., E. STANLEY JONES.
New York, N. Y.

Negroes Are to Blame

SIR: In your August 25 issue M. F. Adams challenges a statement by Dr. D. P. McGeachy, Sr., in his report of our recent General Assembly. Dr. McGeachy admitted that many Negroes are informed on such delicate matters as personal cleanliness, but that that is not true of all, or even of most, Negroes is so apparent to anyone living in the south that it is ludicrous to deny it. I wonder, for example, where M. F. Adams spends his Saturday afternoons. Certainly he can never have walked the Negro-crowded streets on a hot Saturday afternoon in any southern town. The simple truth is—and unless Adams is a hermit he knows it—the odor is almost intolerable.

Moreover, it is becoming increasingly evident that for the most part southern Negroes (there are some exceptions) are wholly unwilling to make any contribution of their own to the problem of race relations. They have the idea that the only qualification needed to entitle them to race superiority is simply to be a Negro. And that, sir, is not going to work. The Negro must make his contribution, and I am not sure that on the whole he is even trying to do so.

First Presbyterian Church, HARRY G. KENNEY.
Jackson, Ga.

Entirely Different?

SIR: A presidential candidate is rather seriously misrepresented by the paragraph headed, "Mr. Wallace Utters the Forbidden Word," in your issue of September 1. Mr. Wallace did not, as quoted by the paragraph, make a blanket denunciation of "Communism, clericalism and capitalism" as a trio of menaces to international peace, nor has he otherwise denounced this trio of isms in blanket fashion. He did denounce "international communism, international clericalism and international capitalism," which is an entirely different matter.

Wilmington, Del. RICHARD H. BREADY.

It Wasn't a New Idea

SIR: After a considerable absence from home on a four-thousand-mile swing around the country, I have caught up with the back numbers of The Christian Century which were on my desk here. In the issue of July 7, the editorial comment on Dr. Gallup's suggestion interested me. The idea may be new to Dr. Gallup and to The Christian Century but it has been in the minds of a number of college administrators for many years. It was, for instance, discussed at length at a conference of college presidents called together at the Harvard graduate school of education by the then dean, Dr. Henry Wyman Holmes, in the spring of 1928. President Parks of Wheaton proposed it then. The time interval for judgment which he proposed was three to five years, not a quarter-century. Mr. Gallup's familiarity with the difficulty of getting and keeping statistics must have inspired him to propose his twenty-five years with his tongue in his cheek.

Hyde Park, Mass. ELIZABETH MACDONALD.

Scotland a Warning

SIR: I wonder whether Norman V. Hope, in his article "Church and State: the Scottish Solution," does not leave a great deal unsaid. It might be interesting to have an article on the entire church situation in Scotland. Are there not Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists in that country? The writer says that "there are still several minority Presbyterian groups outside the fold [of the established church]" and that "the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland . . . constitutes a religious and a cultural problem."

It appears that church life in Scotland is far from a solution. Recently I heard a very prominent minister of the "established" church say that in his office as pastor of the parish he could tell even the Roman Catholic priest what he must do or not do, and that on certain occasions in the work of the public school in the parish all the pupils were compelled to attend certain functions in his church. Evidently this state church parish pastor can tell Baptists and others where to head in.

I do not think Mr. Hope's final suggestion that the church situation in Scotland may have value as an example elsewhere has any point for Americans, except as a further warning to avoid all trends, Protestant or Catholic, toward church-state partnership.

New York, N. Y. E. M. CONOVER.

Neglecting the Near at Hand

SIR: The old folk saying, "Heaven helps those who help themselves," is nowhere of greater force than in long-distance planning for the extension of the Kingdom. One wonders sometimes, however, whether we neglect home mission opportunities. Our family for generations has been interested in foreign missions. My wife and I have visited scores of stations in Asia, Africa, Latin America. My grandfather was martyred on an overseas field. Yet on this desk is a field study of a near-by county. It is 6 per cent Protestant, probably less Roman Catholic, 88 per cent unchurched. Here is some of the finest leadership material drifting, because of a lack of early religious education, into cynical materialism.

Sacramento, Calif. C. M. GOETHE.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Amsterdam Strikes Middle Way In Discussing Economic Order

World Assembly Condemns Both Communism and Laissez Faire Capitalism — Defines Three Positions for Christians in Relation to Participation in War and Militarism

By Harold E. Fey

AMSTERDAM, Sept. 5—The adjournment yesterday of the first World Assembly of Churches was eclipsed by the change of rulers in Holland. For the past several days Amsterdam has been the scene of a celebration which combines the colôr and clamor of a Fourth of July celebration, New Year's Eve, Old Home Week and V-E Day all rolled into one. So the press paid little attention to the concluding statements of the Assembly, and scarcely noted that the meeting partially reversed itself on one of the most important issues to come before it. After condemning equally the ideologies of capitalism and communism, it sought to placate American opinion by confining its criticism of capitalism to the "laissez faire" variety. The principal reason for the action was the Assembly's belated recollection of the fact that 85 per cent of the World Council's budget is raised in America.

East-West Tension

The point was important because it was only in the amended report of Section III that the Assembly faced the meaning of the east-west tension which overshadowed the entire meeting with the threat of war. The section, after condemning equally the ideologies of communism and of capitalism, came out with a reasoned advocacy of a middle way between the two. Only thus, it contended, can the Christian ends of justice and peace be achieved in a technological society. News-starved correspondents, who had been growing desperate as committees and sections debated behind closed doors, seized on this action and cabled the entire text to America. The American reaction was reported to be hostile, so World Council officials began to worry over its effect on contributions.

President Charles P. Taft of the Federal Council of Churches, who was absent when the vote was taken, returned and proposed to confine the condemnation of capitalism to "the wholly self-regulating laissez faire theory of capitalism." But the representatives of churches from other parts of the world stand considerably to the left of American church opinion on what it means to apply Christian principles to the economic order. So the Assembly modified the statement, but only by adding "laissez faire." The statement as finally adopted was uncompromisingly opposed to communism, even though it acknowledged that that system has an appeal to millions in many countries. While it specifically denied that any form of economic organization is in itself Christian, its description of what is needed to produce justice in a technological society came close to the forms of socialism now in power in Great Britain and in other western European nations.

War and Christian Conscience

The menace of new war hung so heavily over the Assembly that the physical and moral ruin created by the recent conflict was all but forgotten. The section which worked on the message of the church in the field of international affairs dealt with the relation of war to the Christian conscience, with the causes of conflict, with the need for international law and adequate institutions to administer it, with human rights and religious liberty. It touched only lightly on such current issues as east-west tension, world government, European federation and the future of the United Nations. It made no attempt to weigh the rights and wrongs of the German question, the Palestine question, the Indian question, the Indonesian question, the Korean question—to name only a few. It paid little attention to the need for peace treaties with Germany and Japan, to disarmament, to atomic control, to nationalism.

The Assembly's conclusions on the relation of the Christian to modern war went further in some respects than the statement adopted by the 1937 Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State. It debated the question whether a just war is possible under modern conditions. The Bishop of Chichester declared that it is not; that obliteration bombing and weapons of mass destruction make war an indiscriminate evil. The section finally agreed to disagree, and described three positions which it is possible for Christians to take. The first is the view that "even though entering a war may be a Christian's duty in particular circumstances, modern warfare, with its mass destruction, can never be an act of justice." The second holds that "in the absence of supranational institutions, there are those who hold that military action is the ultimate sanction of the rule of law, and that citizens must distinctly be taught that it is their duty to defend the law by force if necessary."

The Pacifist Position

The third view, which revealed surprising strength, is that of those "who refuse military service of all kinds, convinced that an absolute witness against war and for peace is for them the will of God, and they desire that the church should speak to the same effect." The proposal that the Assembly take an unofficial poll to determine the strength of the three positions among the delegates fell through, but the meeting accepted the three positions as all valid and voted that "war as a method of settling disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. The part which war plays in our present international life is a sin against God and a degradation of man."

One of the most important actions of the Assembly was its adoption of a far-reaching "declaration on religious liberty" as part of

(Continued on page 990)

Bad Boll Conferences

Missouri Synod Lutherans and German Theologians Exchange Views

STUTTGART, GERMANY, Aug. 24.—Seven ministers of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod met recently at the Bad Boll evangelical center near here in three conferences with 350 representative theologians and ministers of the Lutheran provincial and "free" churches of Germany to re-examine certain significant articles of the Augsburg Confession in the light of present-day problems. Decision to hold the conference grew out of discussions between German pastors and Missouri Synod chaplains.

Each session opened with a paper discussing the significance of the Augsburg Confession for ecclesiastical, theological and sociological developments—first against the American background and then against the German. This procedure was adopted to give a common basis for development of thought.

Perhaps the most valuable thing to come out of the conferences was the confidence the Americans and Germans gained in the serious theological work being carried on in both countries, a confidence in the will of both groups to conduct earnest research looking toward an ecclesiastical message which without abbreviation presents the full truth of Scripture.

An evaluation of the conferences in *Evangelische Welt*, published in Bethel-Bielefeld, states that no essential differences were noted. However, the theological thinking of the Americans reflected the fact that their church is intact, in an intact country with an intact history, whereas the German theology has developed through costly experiences and in a time of horrible sorrow. Nevertheless, despite the divergent backgrounds of the conferees, a remarkable unanimity on fundamental questions was discovered.

Christ und Welt observed that the doubts and temptations of the Americans seem to be predominantly intellectual or moral, while those of the Germans are existential.

It is probable that the discussions started at Bad Boll will be continued next summer in one or the other of the two countries.

KARL J. ARNDT.

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Ask University Religion Course

Berkeley Conference Urges Denominations to Support Appeal for a Regular Department on Campus

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 3.—The University of California religious conference, an organization made up of all professional religious workers on the Berkeley campus—Jewish, Catholic and Protestant—is seeking support from the various denominations in a proposed appeal to the regents to establish a department of religion in the university. Leaders of the conference believe that the university can conduct courses in religion without becoming involved in doctrinal matters. They point out that since courses in religion are already offered in some departments of the university, the establishment of a separate department would not be a radical innovation. The Presbyterian synod of California has already given its support to the proposal.

• • •

Seminary President to Head Northern Baptists

Sandford Fleming, president of Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, has been named president of the Northern Baptist Convention, which will meet in this city next June. Dr. Fleming is the third president of a Bay area theological seminary to be given the highest honor in his denomination. Only a few weeks ago Jesse Baird, president of San Francisco Theological Seminary, was elected moderator of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., General Assembly. Ronald Bridges, president of the Pacific School of Religion, served as moderator of the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches 1944-46.

• • •

Power Rate Controversy Continues

The California public utilities commission has ordered the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. to show cause why it should not comply with the commission's order, issued last April, to cut down on payments to the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., its parent body. In April the commission granted the local company a rate increase, but ordered it to reduce its annual license fee payment to A. T. & T. from $3,000,000 to $1,850,000. The commission held that the 1½ per cent of gross revenues which A. T. & T. charges the local company (in common with other subsidiaries) for engineering, management and other services is "arbitrary, unreasonable and unjust, and bears no rational relationship to the reasonable cost of the services." The local company has so far refused to comply.

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Proposed Amendment Would Legalize Gambling

A "catch-all" amendment to the state constitution has received enough signatures to be placed on the November ballot. It would legalize lotteries, slot machines, dog race betting and other forms of gambling. In addition, it would fix a minimum of $130 a month for old age pensions (to be paid out of gambling profits); remove taxes and license fees levied against houses and other real estate, personal property and business enterprises; end the system of "cross-filing" in state primaries; and set up a program to "facilitate the advancement of the healing arts." The widespread suspicion is that the proposal was engineered by gambling interests, with the other provisions inserted as bait for voters.

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Housing Amendment Arouses Controversy

An initiative amendment on housing, also on the November ballot, would set up a state agency to regulate the building and operation of 100,000 low-rent public housing units and provide loans for private non-profit housing associations. The sponsoring committee, headed by Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer of Los Angeles, has met strong opposition from the Amvets. In San Francisco, the feud over the amendment is spearheaded by District Attorney Edmund G. Brown, who supports the proposal, and the executive of the Associated Home Builders. The A.H.B. calls the measure "dictatorial and needless" and asserts that it would result in fewer homes at higher prices.

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And So Forth

Melvin M. Swartz of Short Hills, N. J., has been appointed assistant to the president of the Pacific School of Religion. Percy R. Hayward, who since retirement from the staff of the International Council of Religious Education has made his home in Palo Alto, will teach a course in religious education at the school this fall.

Richard Myers has begun his duties as director of rural research for the College of the Pacific, Stockton, and the Northern California-Western Nevada council of churches.

Clifford H. Jope, pastor of First Christian Church here, has been named chairman of the governor's interfaith committee on displaced persons.

The Northern California-Western Nevada council of churches has announced its first convocation for ministers and laymen to be held in First Presbyterian Church, Oakland, Nov. 2-4.

Alfred Fisk, professor of philosophy at San Francisco State College and formerly co-pastor of this city's interracial Fellowship Church, this summer headed a seminar of 23 clergymen studying religious conditions in 10 European countries. San Francisco's other representatives on the seminar were Robert Moon, pastor of Park-Presidio United Church, and Kenneth Adams, pastor of Calvary Methodist Church.

Julian C. McPheeters, for many years pastor of Glide Memorial Methodist Church in San Francisco, has resigned to give full time to Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Ky. For some years Dr. McPheeters has been serving as president of the seminary, commuting between San Francisco and Wilmore.

W. EDGAR GREGORY.

Lutherans Consider Revival Of Older Music

Forty Lutheran leaders met at Valparaiso (Ind.) University Aug. 23-26 for the fifth annual seminar designed to revive interest in the study and restoration of "masterpieces of church music."

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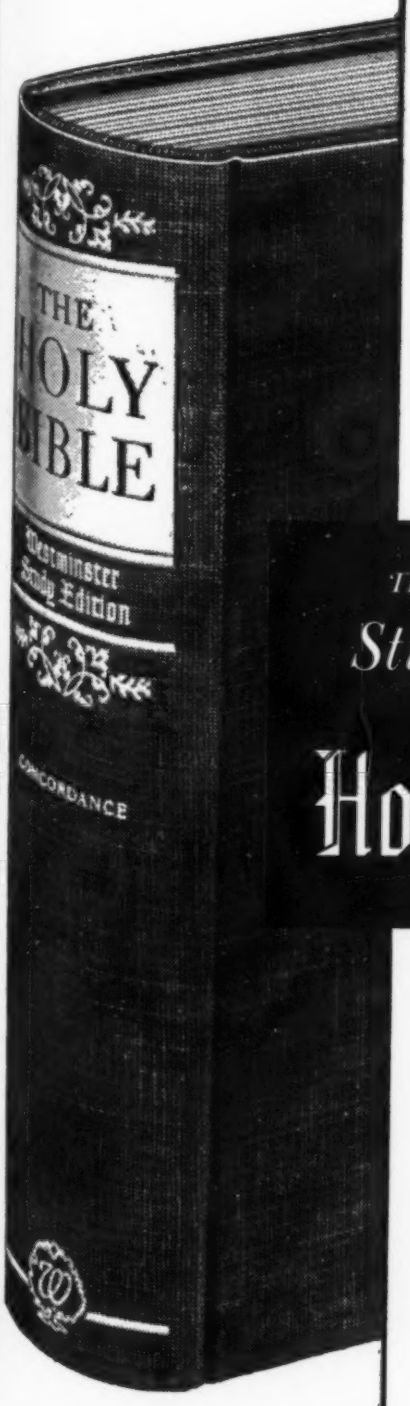

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Czech Clergy Pay Visit to Gottwald

Representatives of Three Faiths Hope for Continuance of Traditional Freedom of Religion

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Sept. 1.—On June 15, the day after Klement Gottwald was solemnly elected by Parliament as third president of Czechoslovakia, Archbishop Beran of the Roman Catholic Church paid a visit to the new head of the state, bringing the greetings of the Catholic clergy. The prelate stated that he was sure religious liberty would be respected as guaranteed by the constitution. President Gottwald also received a deputation representing the non-Catholic churches and the Jewish community. Speaking for the group, Dr. Krenek, moderator of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, emphasized the seriousness of the moment which had brought Mr. Gottwald to the head of a nation with a rich spiritual heritage. He expressed the hope that the spirit of Hus and Comenius, Masaryk and Benes would guide the new president, like a lighthouse beacon, through the waves of the stormy present. On the day of his election, President Gottwald attended a pontifical mass celebrated by Archbishop Beran in the Cathedral of St. Vitus, and paid honor to the relics of the Czech kings.

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Gottwald Succeeds Benes

When Mr. Gottwald announced to an extraordinary session of the government that Dr. Benes had resigned as president, he read the letter which accompanied the resignation. In it, Dr. Benes expressed his hope that the republic would be spared catastrophe and that all citizens would live and work in tolerance, love and forgiveness, using their freedom conscientiously. He reiterated his confidence in the "healthy genius" of the people and in the future of the country. After reading the letter, Mr. Gottwald praised Dr. Benes' leadership in Czechoslovakia's struggle for freedom through two world wars, and his policies toward Russia and the nationalization of the country.

• • •

One Slate of Candidates

In Czechoslovakia's election in June, only 10 per cent of the voters turned in "white" ballots indicating dissatisfaction with the government. Previously, the Communist party's central committee had decided to name (then) Prime Minister Gottwald as the only candidate for the presidency, and the central action committee of the National Front acquiesced. Antonin Zapotocky, president of the Central Council of Labor Unions, was unopposed as candidate for prime minister. Commenting on Gottwald's election, newspapers said that now "a man of the people, a builder of the National Front who can guarantee the unbreakable unity of Czechs and Slovaks," stands at the head of the country. In an interview with foreign correspondents, Mr. Gottwald said that the election marks the end of the enormous struggle which the people have had to make against reactionary elements striving for the overthrow of Czechoslovakia's "evolution." The small minority of "white" ballots, he declared, shows that there are only a few people who do not yet recognize that their attitude is directed against the security and freedom of the country. "Our further evolution will convince such people that they are wrong," he said. "The election results have strengthened the position of democracy and peace in the whole world."

• • •

Sign 'Mutual Aid' Treaty With Rumania

The treaty calling for friendship, collaboration and mutual aid which Czechoslovakia and Rumania signed in Bucharest July 21 was designed to thwart any possibility that Germany might renew its aggressions. Representatives of the two countries spoke with pride of the fact that Czechoslovakia now stands with the countries struggling for peace and not on the side of the "imperialists."

• • •

American Unionists Welcomed

The group of American labor unionists visiting this country and other eastern European nations were received by Prime Minister Zapotocky, who assured them that Czechoslovakia entertains feelings of sincere friendship for America and hopes that they will be reciprocated. "We have not accomplished all that we hope for," he said. "We must improve our production and distribute the goods equitably. We know that in capitalistic states living standards may be better, but that is only temporary. The American people can help us avoid economic crisis and give our people all we have promised." The prime minister told the unionists that he was aware that the dissemination in the U. S. of "false reports about Czechoslovakia" was the work of "certain groups" and did not represent the true attitude of the majority of Americans.

• • •

Hold Conference of Protestant Slavs

For the first time since 1911, a conference for Protestants from all the Slavic countries was held in Prague late in June. The delegates from Yugoslavia were unable to attend. So were the representatives of the Baptist Evangelical Christians in the Soviet Union, but their Central Council sent a letter of greeting explaining that urgent matters in Russia prevented their attending. The delegates who were able to come issued a declaration thanking God that, after the disastrous war, they are again free to worship in their respective countries. They pointed out that while Protestants are a minority in the Slavic lands, they have played an important role in public affairs, particularly in Czechoslovakia. Their declaration emphasized that they do not seek to disseminate foreign ideologies in their countries, but that they are first and foremost Christians, striving for freedom of the worship and practice of religion and working to synthesize Protestant individualism with Slavic collectivism in line with the traditions of the Moravian Church, which originated in Czechoslovakia.

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City Parish Aids Blighted Region

St. Mark's Methodist Builds Ministry That Helps Solve Oklahoma City's 'Square Mile of Problems'

OKLAHOMA CITY, Sept. 2.—While downtown St. Luke's Methodist Church here makes plans for its fine new building farther out toward the present residential area, and other downtown churches find their programs handicapped by lack of space, another Methodist church, St. Mark's, ands its ground in a still older part of the original city. The low-income residential section which makes up its parish, now "south of the tracks" and surrounded by commercial enterprises, is sometimes referred to as "Oklahoma City's square mile of problems."

Ten years ago Walter H. Gilliam and his wife were assigned to St. Mark's. With a heart for struggling people, especially frustrated children, and full of the power of the God they need, Walter Gilliam dug in and made the problem center of the city his parish.

Opportunities Discovered

Besides carrying on the program and services of St. Mark's itself, Mr. Gilliam went out into the "square mile" and took hold wherever opportunity offered. Through the years he has found scores of "handles" to seize—Methodist and non-Methodist, sacred and secular, religious, educational and cultural. Through released time religious education, he has brought a multitude of children into touch with his own and other churches and with the personalities of loyal teachers. Throughout the area boys and girls hail him as "Brother Gilliam."

This modest shepherd of shantytown is no less human now than when he first made friends with the people of the neighborhood, even though his program of social and individual redemption has become an institution. "Brother" Gilliam is no longer just pastor of St. Mark's. He is director of "St. Mark's Enlarged Parish"—and the Methodist label is faint and almost overlooked. Throughout the area are scattered four "white chapels" in which play programs and Sunday schools attract a conglomerate variety of children: pagan, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish; white, Negro, Mexican.

The 'White Chapels'

The chapels are painted gleaming white; their spires and crosses mark them as symbols of something finer than the surrounding squalor. Inside they are immaculate, dignified, churchly. They are provided with phonographs and libraries of fine records. Altogether, they are in soul-lifting contrast with the daily surroundings of most of the children who take part in their programs. They were built and painted by neighborhood volunteers. One is a converted "shack" store.

Each "white chapel" is in charge of a resident pastor and his wife. The pastor has a job during the daytime to help support his family, but he is on hand evenings and Sundays, and his wife is on call at all hours.

The "white chapel" play groups and Sunday schools have come to be known throughout this area through their part in the weekly radio broadcast by the "Crusaders"—choruses made up of junior-high-school-age youngsters. The Crusaders usually include children from the "white chapels," but they may also contain children from orphanages or the public schools—any boys and girls who are willing to swing in, practice the program and learn the songs and speaking parts.

The staff of station KTOK, over which the Crusaders programs are broadcast, works closely with "Brother" Gilliam and his pastors. Local chapters of the Crusaders are organized in 29 schools, churches and orphanages all over the city, so that as the radio programs are prepared and presented there is much mingling of the "square mile" children with those from more fortunate neighborhoods, and class and living conditions are forgotten. Although race is a touchy problem in Oklahoma, Negro and white boys and girls appear together on the programs.

For the programs, only the best of hymns and other songs are used, and care is taken that enunciation and pronunciation are correct. By dramatizing Bible stories and conducting Bible quizzes on the air, the children not only give much information to listeners all over the state, but educate themselves. A first-rate chorus, selected from the various groups that broadcast, is constantly in demand for special occasions off the air. To transport the various groups to their many appointments, backers of "Brother" Gilliam have provided a fine big school bus with "Crusaders" painted on both sides in proud letters.

To Build Character

The entire program, through individual and cooperative efforts, builds personality and character. Since the chapels were established and the Crusaders' program launched, the city has come through with paving for the streets and provision for regular garbage collection. Statistics in police and juvenile courts prove that crime and delinquency in the "square mile" have materially decreased. In just one year, truancy cases in the area fell from 444 to 256, juvenile court cases from 735 to 691. Police court records reveal that crime in the area has also diminished, probably as a result of the improved "tone" of the district.

St. Mark's Enlarged Parish and all that has been accomplished there are the lengthened and luminous shadow of one ordinary man who found a way to channel the power of God into a needy and inferior neighborhood until "they that sat in darkness are seeing great light."

H. H. LINDEMAN.

Methodist Students Aid Mexican Villagers

Fifteen U. S. college students have spent the summer in a Methodist work camp in the village of Zacapoaxtla, Puebla, Mexico. They have constructed a playground, with ball courts, grandstand and showers; planned reconstruction of the village plaza; set up a model vegetable garden and rabbit hutch; and helped carry on the medical services offered by the local clinic.

Call on Youth To Obey Draft

Kentucky Methodists Take Action After Reports of Contrary Advice—Prepare for Merger

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., Sept. 8.—Disturbed by "persistent reports" that young Methodists are being urged to refuse to register for the draft, the Kentucky Methodist conference at its recent 128th annual session in Richmond adopted a resolution appealing for full cooperation with the peacetime conscription laws. Chief provocation for the action is said to have been suggestions made by J. Edward Lantz of Nashville, editor of the *Classmate*, when he addressed a Methodist youth assembly at Winchester. A resolution rebuking the editor was presented to the conference, but later withdrawn. The final draft of the new resolution admonished "our young men" to register and then "follow their Christian consciences in full service in the armed forces of the country, and, if they desire, to request exemption as provided by law for conscientious objectors."

• • •

Prepare for Merger Of Conferences

The Methodist delegates took practical steps to advance the contemplated merger of the Kentucky and Louisville conferences of the denomination. They requested that a committee to represent the conference in meetings with a Louisville delegation be appointed by Bishop W. T. Watkins, with instructions to report at next year's session. They approved appointment of a public relations director to serve the two conferences jointly. The board of lay activities in its report recommended that pastors' salaries be regularly supplemented by the church to take care of charity contributions, entertainment of visitors on church duties and costs of transportation on official trips.

• • •

Baptist Ministers Call for Evangelism, Education

More than 100 West Virginia Baptist pastors attended their annual Bible conference at the denominational summer camp grounds near Cowan. Out-of-state speakers included Vernon Shontz, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Springfield, Ill., and president of the ministers' council of the Northern Baptist Convention; Jose A. Yap, executive secretary of the Philippine Islands Baptist convention; and Bruce Mills of Kalamazoo, Mich., area director of the denomination's "Crusade for Christ through Evangelism." Insisting that neither Christian education nor Christian evangelism is sufficient without the other, and that to function properly education must be evangelistic and evangelism must be educational, Mr. Mills declared that the union of the two has been consummated by God and that they must not be divorced.

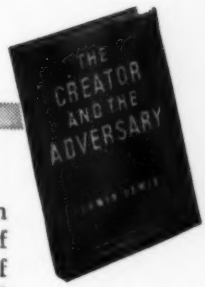
• • •

Reports 'Gradual' Suppression Of European Churches

Communists are relentlessly pursuing a policy of "gradual suppression" rather

The CREATOR and the ADVERSARY

by EDWIN LEWIS



• A striking discussion of a question deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the present generation: "Can the God of Love declared in Jesus Christ be regarded also as the God who maintains Creation and who is active in history, unless we suppose that he is everywhere faced with a malignant adversary?" Dr. Lewis presents a deep-searching reconsideration of the idea of God underlying the conflict of good and evil.

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PART III: TOWARD A NEW CREATION. THE WORLD VIEW OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL—THE BIBLICAL PORTRAIT OF EVERY MAN—THE TRADITION OF INHERITED GUILT—THE INEVITABLE REBELLIOUSNESS—THE POWER TO BECOME SONS—THE CHURCH MILITANT.

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than one of extreme violence to restrict the church in Europe. So declared Ernest L. Zaugg, Religious News Service correspondent, in a recent series of addresses in Louisville. For the past three years Mr. Zaugg has been studying the conflict between Christianity and Communism in Europe, and is planning to continue his study in China. Rather than openly attacking the church and clergy, he says, the Communists in several countries are "moving like a glacier, slowly but surely," endeavoring to confine the influence of the churches to worship within the church buildings, where people are free to pray but the preacher is not free to speak his convictions. Preachers who criticize Communism are arrested on the charge of "meddling in politics." Religious activities outside the church have either been stopped or are severely limited.

• • •

Fort Knox U. M. T. Experiment Temporarily Halted

The U. M. T. experiment that has been conducted by the army at Fort Knox, Ky., is being temporarily discontinued, but military authorities have disclosed that many of the new training procedures introduced in connection with it will be continued and developed throughout the draftee army now in prospect. These include: (1) the intensive religious program under the guidance of chaplains; (2) the trainee court, with authority to judge and punish minor infractions of regulations; (3) the prohibition of profanity during training periods; (4) compulsory lectures by chaplains and others on morality and citizenship; (5) a leadership training program with a special student-instructor relationship to eliminate browbeating; and (6) a citizens' advisory committee to cooperate with post officials concerning the behavior problems of soldiers when on leave in adjacent communities.

• • •

And So Forth

While leaders of the Reformation claimed that it was a movement to purify religion, actually it was a "licentious revolt," Thomas P. Neill, St. Louis University history professor, declared recently in an address before the Louisville chapter of Te Deum International. The professor vigorously assailed the recent *Life* magazine article on the Reformation, charging that it contained numerous errors.

The 54th annual Kentucky convention of the Junior Order, United American Mechanics, passed strong resolutions condemning communism, and urging that it be abolished in the United States. Declaring that "most un-American propaganda activities emanate from teachers, professors and other persons associated with schools and universities," the resolutions demanded that "teachers in public and private schools should be required to take an oath that they are not Communists or members of any Communist organization."

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

Episcopalians Sponsor Radio Program

An estimated total of 500 radio stations will carry the new radio program sponsored by the Protestant Episcopal Church, "Great Scenes from Great Plays," which goes on the air Oct. 1 over the Mutual network.

Immigrants Need Church Attention

Growing Tide of Newcomers to Canada Poses Problem So Far Scarcely Touched by Protestants

TORONTO, Sept. 9.—Not since 1929 have immigrants arrived in Canada in greater numbers than this year. In the first six months of 1948, 57,275 newcomers reached our shores, including 18,000 displaced persons from Poland, the Ukraine and the Baltic countries and several thousand persons from Holland. Various churches have played a real part in fostering immigration. They are now beginning to study the problem of integrating the newcomers into local parish life. Roman Catholics have brought in large numbers of displaced persons. Lutheran and German Baptist groups in the west have organized the Canadian Christian Council to facilitate the immigration of certain *volks-Deutsch* peoples. The first of these are scheduled to arrive late in the summer; their total number will run to at least 10,000. Efforts by other Protestant groups are scattered. Little discussion on how to assimilate the new Canadians is to be found so far in Protestant publications. Roman Catholic leaders however are already very much alive to the problem and are urging their people to take special pains to welcome the displaced persons. Many of the immigrants, they explain, possess marked intellectual and professional skills that will be of great advantage to the Catholic Church in Canada, which up till now has not had large numbers of such persons.

• • •

Toronto Churches Sponsor Community Center

A courageous venture in downtown church work in Toronto, the Woodgreen community center, is launched on its first fall season. Built at a cost of $400,000 on the plan of the Peckham experiment in England, the center occupies the better part of a city block in the heart of Toronto's industrial east end. It is designed to serve the recreational and social needs of a district half a mile square which contains 2,700 dwellings and 15,000 people. Within its attractive walls are facilities for all age groups: a nursery school, a children's library, a health clinic, hobby and craft rooms, a spacious gym, a teen-agers' canteen, a handball court, clubrooms for adults, efficient kitchen facilities, a music room, a drama workshop and Little Theater, reception rooms for weddings and social affairs, and a clothing center. A swimming pool is planned for construction in the near future.

• • •

The Result of One Pastor's Efforts

The project came about as the result of the efforts of Ray McCleary, United Church of Canada padre who has devoted his enormous energies unstintingly to a ministry to working people. He worked in the Woodgreen area before the war, and later scoured the continent to find examples of approaches to downtown church

work. Then he came back to Toronto and organized his church to build this unique center a few blocks away. First opened for operations in May, the project has attracted much interest on the part of Canadians and of visitors to Toronto from foreign lands. It will be staffed by a dozen full-time workers and several hundred volunteers. Its working budget will be over $30,000.

• • •

Counseling Center Enters Second Year

Another unique development in the church life of Toronto is a pastoral counseling center which enters its second season this fall after a year of quiet service. Staffed largely by ministers who have studied pastoral clinic procedures in U. S. hospitals, the center is operated in conjunction with Holy Trinity Anglican Church in the downtown area. The six counselors are parish priests who volunteer a few hours every week to man the clinic. In the words of an article in the August Anglican *Outlook*, the center's purpose is "to perform the ministry of listening . . . of forgiveness . . . of fellowship . . . and of reconciliation." It is definitely not a psychiatric clinic, although it has helped a number of semi-neurotics as well as many persons involved in personal and family difficulties. It combines the regular pastoral functions of the ministry with a mild form of psychotherapy and calls in social workers when the need for professional service is indicated.

• • •

Student Work Camps Offer Opportunities

For the fourth summer, student work camps organized by the Christian Work Camp Fellowship in cooperation with the Student Christian Movement have had a successful season in eastern Canada. Camps at Brantford, Montreal and Dixie offered to some 80 students a chance to get next to the working man and face life from his perspective, at the same time learning the joys and disciplines of cooperative camp living. In the first two, students engaged in factory work; at Dixie they worked on farms. Camp life includes a well balanced program with eight hours of work, frequent study and discussion in the evenings, recreation and worship. Purpose of the program is to lead to the discovery of the richness of Christian truth and fellowship, and to the application of this discovery to the problems of industrial and agricultural workers. In each camp there were students from all parts of Canada and visitors from the U. S.; one student came from Colombia, of which country his father was recently elected president.

• • •

Consider Audio-Visual Education

Representatives from seven Protestant denominations gathered late in June at McMaster University, Hamilton, for the first Canadian audio-visual workshop. Sponsored by the department of Christian education of the Canadian Council of Churches, the workshop was designed to bring Canadian churchmen up to date on latest methods in the field. Pearl Rosser of Chicago, director of radio and visual education for the International Council of Religious Education, gave a series of addresses on visual education in the total program of the church. It is expected that this kind of conference will help to improve the techniques of the country's religious education program, which has lagged behind that in the U. S.

• • •

Rural Church Attracts New Interest

A new surge of interest in the problems of the rural church in Canada is reflected in the publication here of a 70-page booklet, *The Rural Church in Canada*, by the Christian Social Council of the Canadian Council of Churches. This is the first attempt to examine the problems raised for the rural ministry by the mechanization and the consequent growing depopulation of Canada's farming areas. The analytic part of the study, which is based on the latest economic and sociological surveys of the rural hinterland, is followed by a systematic outline of methods needed to revitalize rural church work. It is probable that the churches affiliated with the council, which represents all the large Protestant denominations, will make wide use of the booklet in their intensifying attempts to grapple with the problems of rural church work.

• • •

And So Forth

Harriet Christie, formerly associate secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, has been appointed dean of residence at the United Church Training School here.

T. S. McDormant, editor of the Canadian Baptist Sunday school publications, has been promoted to editorship of the *Canadian Baptist*, official publication of the Baptist convention of Ontario and Quebec.

The moderator of the United Church of Canada has issued a special "call for vol-

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—*E. Stanley Jones*

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unteers for active service" in the church. He points out that the denomination needs 400 men for its home mission and 60 for its foreign mission work. The coming annual conference in Vancouver (Sept. 21-28) will give particular attention to the matter of ministerial supply.

W. E. MANN.

Deny Park to J.W.'s

Memphis Commissioners Turn Down a Petition on 'Precedent' Basis

MEMPHIS, Sept. 8.—The Memphis park commissioners—a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jew—yesterday denied the petition of local Jehovah's Witnesses for the use of Court Square park on the ground that a 40-year precedent prohibits use of the park for religious addresses. Hugh Hines, Jehovah's Witness minister who presented the petition, reminded the commissioners that J. Frank Norris, fundamentalist Baptist minister, was permitted to use the park during last May's Southern Baptist Convention here to launch daily diatribes against the convention. "Why did not this precedent keep Norris out?" he asked. The commissioners replied that the mayor's office, not the park commissioners, had granted a permit to the Baptist speaker. Mr. Hines' parting remark: "You have already been overruled by the highest court in the land, and I tell you now that we will use the park before the year is over."

There is some evidence, incidentally, that the park commission has grown a bit more liberal since the recent overthrow of the Crump political machine in Memphis. It granted free use of the very desirable Bellevue park to local managers of the Progressive party for a Henry Wallace meeting last Friday. The presidential candidate addressed a non-segregated audience of around 2,500, two-thirds of whom were Negroes. A detail of 30 policemen maintained order, and there were no untoward incidents. This news is seen as significant in view of the fact that sponsors of the Freedom Train wrote Memphis off their schedule last winter when informed that their demand for non-segregation of visitors to the exhibits could not be complied with.

MARSHALL WINGFIELD.

AMSTERDAM ASSEMBLY

(Continued from page 980)

its report on international affairs. Holding that freedom of religion is "an essential element in a good international order," it laid down four principles which won unanimous agreement: "(1) Every person has the right to determine his own faith and creed. (2) Every person has the right to express his religious beliefs in worship, teaching and practice, and to proclaim the implications of his beliefs for relationships in a social or political community. (3) Every person has the right to associate with others and to organize with them for religious purposes. (4) Every religious organization, formed or maintained by action in accordance with the rights of individual persons, has the right to determine its policies and practices for the accomplishment of its chosen purposes." The adoption of this declaration was the action taken by the Assembly which most distinctively defined its Protestant character.

Refugees We Have Made

Another action taken in connection with this report of Section IV concerned refugees. Elfan Rees, director of the refugee work of the World Council of Churches, shocked the Assembly with his well documented charge that the refugee problem as it now exists in Europe was created by the victor powers at Potsdam. He said that Hitler made about 9,000,000 refugees, and of these all but a million or two are resettled. But there are now not less than 12,000,000 refugees in Europe, and they were made by the Allies. The mass of these are persons of German ethnic origin, of whom 10,000,000 were expelled from eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia and other lands of eastern Europe after Potsdam. For them no international aid, either through the International Refugee Organization or otherwise, is available. The Assembly voted to ask the World Council to give high priority to help for refugees, since Protestants are in the majority among these exiles and are receiving comparatively little assistance. It asked the United Nations to extend the mandate of the IRO to include them and requested the churches in favored lands to work for more liberal immigration policies. Meanwhile they are besought to welcome and care for refugees who arrive in their countries.

Easy on Religious Tyranny

The Assembly was extremely careful to do nothing to offend Roman Catholic susceptibilities. So it defeated by a vote of 56 to 51 a proposal made by Elton Trueblood, American Quaker writer, to include ecclesiastical as well as political forms in the totalitarianisms which it condemned. The size of the vote indicates the degree of active participation by the 351 delegates in some of the most important decisions reached. This was because the reports of the sections and committees were not ready for adoption until the final days of the Assembly, when its work was carried on under the great handicap which the coronation ceremonies created for delegates housed in widely scattered hotels and pensions in a city whose transportation facilities were partially paralyzed by the vast crowds.

The Assembly also adopted carefully considered reports on the nature and witness of the church. These will be discussed separately in later issues of The Christian Century. A feature of the meeting which was favorably commented on by American delegates was the prominence given to a consideration of the work of laymen and laywomen in the churches. European churches have rediscovered "the priesthood of all believers" as a consequence of the war, which disrupted the traditional apparatus for clerical control of the churches and gave the laity an opportunity to assert a leadership which had long been denied them. Hendrick Kraemer, director of the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, Switzerland, played a considerable part in these discussions. Mrs. Samuel McCrea Cavert of the United States and Miss Sarah Chakko of Lucknow College, India, led the discussions which resulted in the establishment

in the World Council at Geneva of a continuing study of the life and work of women in the churches. The preliminary work done on this question under Mrs. Cavert's direction uncovered a body of hitherto unknown data on the position of women in the churches of all the 44 countries in which the World Council has member churches. This, by action of the Assembly, is now to be published.

The observance of the Lord's Supper at the Assembly revealed that there is more unity among the churches on this question than those who arranged the program for Amsterdam dared anticipate. Because of differences in the form of observance of the central act of Christian worship, services according to the Reformed, the Anglican, the Lutheran and the Orthodox liturgies were arranged. The Reformed service was held on Sunday morning, Aug. 29, in the great Nieuwe Kerk at the center of Amsterdam. All persons taking part in the Assembly were invited to participate, and over 1,000 representatives of all groups except the Orthodox did so. It was noted that the Archbishop of Canterbury was present. Although he did not go to the great table which stretched across the nave of the old church, other Anglicans did so, as did Lutherans and members of other denominations. The service followed the Dutch Reformed liturgy, and was conducted by Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist ministers; also by Indonesian, Swiss, French and Scottish Reformed ministers. The communion services according to the Lutheran, Anglican and Orthodox rites were held on succeeding mornings.

The final service of the Assembly was a solemn and beautiful hour of worship in the old West Kerk of Amsterdam. Delegates were transported from the Concert Gebouw, where the business sessions were held, to the West Kerk in a fleet of streetcars. On arrival the delegates made their way through the tents and sideshows of a circus occupying the grounds into the ancient building, which has the highest spire in Holland. There they found themselves in the solemn atmosphere of centuries of Christian devotion. Seated in old pews which were equipped with great Dutch Bibles, they sang "Thine is the glory," listened to the reading of 1 Peter 1:3-13 and heard brief sermons in French, German and English from Maury, Dibelius and Sockman. Then they prayed together: "O Christ, our only Savior, dwell within us that we may go forth with the light of hope in our eyes and the fire of inspiration on our lips, with thy Word on our tongues and thy love in our hearts." With the words of the ancient priestly benediction, "the Lord bless thee and keep thee," given by a Dutch pastor, the Assembly was over. Appropriately, each delegate had to make his way through the circus on the grounds and into the larger circus of festive Amsterdam, from the church to his train, on his own.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: For announcement of additional material on the Amsterdam Assembly to appear in the Oct. 6 issue of The Christian Century, see notice on opposite page.]

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

The Babe Ruth Story (Allied Artists) William Bendix, Charles Bickford, Claire Trevor. *Drama* based on life of late baseball star. Baseball shots, which should have constituted much of action, are lethargic, at a minimum. Instead, contrived incidents play out a *maudlin* fiction about a lovable buffoon who got into scrapes, but always with self-sacrificing motives. Sickbed sequences in worst of taste. M, Y, C

Embraceable You (War.) *Melodrama.* Petty thief, driving car for gangster who has murdered gambler, injures disillusioned girl. Conscience stricken, he redeems himself by aiding police, devoting energies to making girl happy during short life left to her, meanwhile is in peril of revenge by former associates. Values right in end, but mixture of romance and gangsterism is *unpalatable,* plot annoyingly coincidence based, situations hokum filled. M, Y

The Return of the Badmen (RKO) *Melodrama* about a fearless retired U. S. marshal who runs out of Oklahoma territory town at time of 1889 land rush an assortment of historically notorious bandits. More expensively done but no more original or significant than *average routine western.* M,Y

The Velvet Touch (RKO) Leon Ames, Leo Glenn, Sidney Greenstreet, Rosalind Russell, Claire Trevor. *Drama* about a popular actress who in fit of anger and fear because her producer opposes her yen to leave him and his comedies for tragic roles, kills him, struggles mightily for months against her conscience and probing detective, on night of new debut confesses her guilt. A synthetic yarn ably and smoothly presented, its heroine unclearly defined: is she vile or pitiable? *Sophisticated, adult fare.* M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Deep Waters, Fighting Father Dunne, Give My Regards to Broadway, Green Grass of Wyoming, I Remember Mama, Melody Time, Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House, The Overlanders, The Search, Thunder in the Valley.

For Mature Audience: All My Sons, Another Part of the Forest, Four Faces West, Frieda, The Fugitive, Gentlemen's Agreement, Great Expectations, I Know Where I'm Going, The Senator Was Indiscreet, Shoeshine, So Well Remembered, Song of Love, State of the Union, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, The Walls of Jericho. 9-22-48

To Hold Conferences on Church Architecture

Local councils of churches in four California cities—Berkeley, Sacramento, Fresno and Los Angeles—are cooperating with the Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, which provides church building counsel for 25 Protestant denominations, in conferences on church architecture to be held in those cities during the week of Oct. 11-15. Local architectural organizations are cooperating in the programs.

"The World Council In Color"

Lecture-report on the social and religious significance of the Amsterdam Assembly by Rev. John H. Telfer, who covered every day of the meeting as accredited radio correspondent for 15 American stations. Personalities and pageantry of both the Assembly and the coronation of Queen Juliana in beautiful Kodachrome slides.

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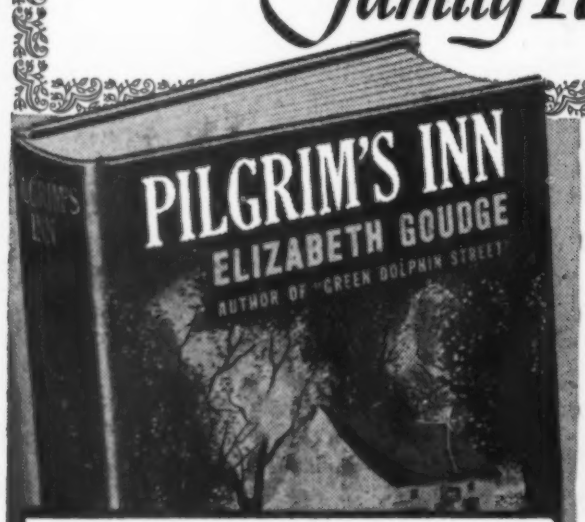

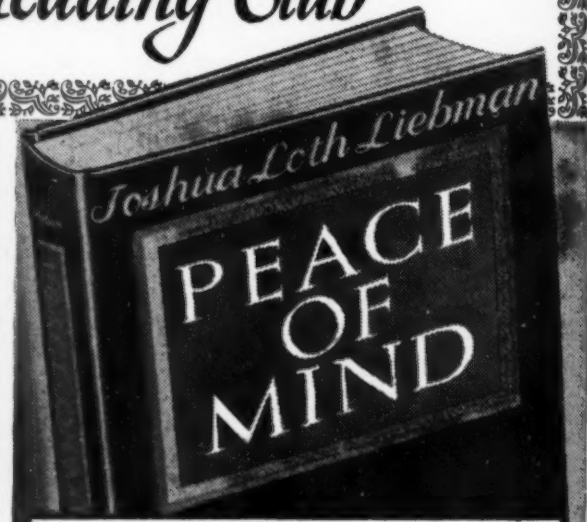

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